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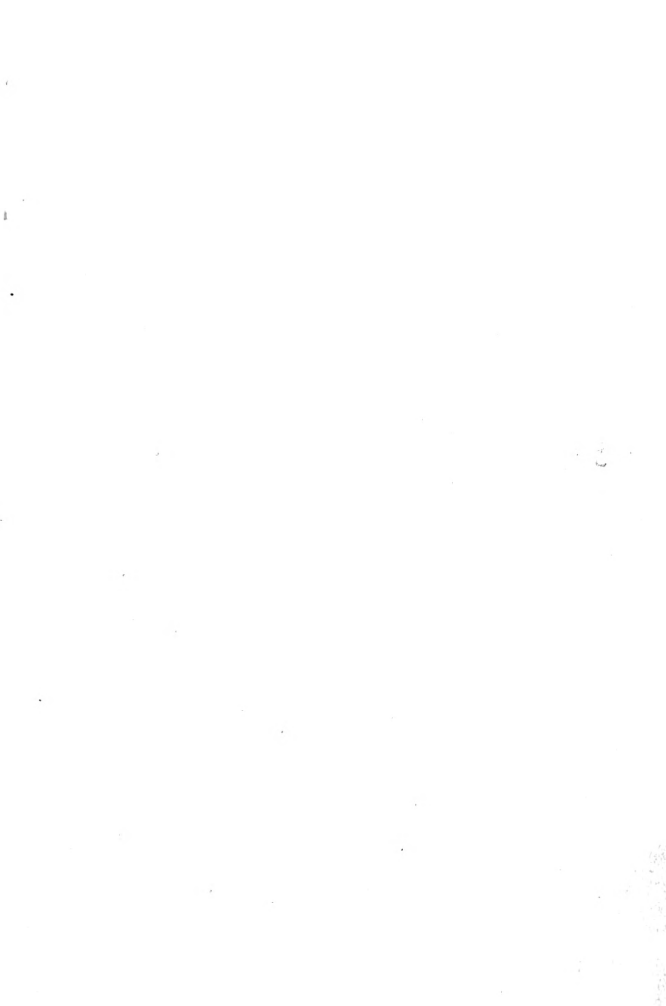
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# MEMOIRS

OF THE

*PUBLIC CHARACTER AND LIFE*

OF

ALEXANDER THE FIRST,

EMPEROR OF ALL THE RUSSIAS.

BY EDWARD GIBBON, ESQ.

WITH AN APPENDIX.

BY PAUL ALLEN, ESQ.

AUTHOR OF THE TRAVELS OF LEWIS AND CLARK, &c. &c.

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SECOND AMERICAN EDITION,

WITH CORRECTIONS AND INTERESTING ADDITIONS.

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TRENTON:

PUBLISHED BY D. & E. FENTON.

1819

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1819

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## PREFACE TO THIS EDITION.

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A GREAT variety of circumstances concur to render whatever relates to Alexander of Russia, in the highest degree important and interesting. He is at the head of an empire the most extensive that the world has ever seen; an empire on which the sun never sets; an empire which has very rapidly advanced, and is very rapidly advancing, in population and civilization, arts and science, commerce and wealth. His armies consist of six hundred thousand men, in the highest degree hardy, brave and disciplined. His subjects are estimated at upwards of forty millions, accustomed promptly to obey and profoundly to reverence their Czar; and this Czar has been rendered dear to them, and glorious in their eyes, by his and their struggles and victories, by his character, conduct and beneficence. He is, with them, first in power, first in glory, and first in their hearts. This great monarch has been rendered more powerful and illustrious by his severe conflict and final success, against one of the greatest generals, one of the most powerful emperors, and probably the most powerful army the world ever

knew. His system of policy appears to be enlightened, firm and liberal, just, humane and pacific. His intellectual endowments are solid and respectable. To crown the whole, his private character appears fair and bright, elevated and noble. Where else can we find, or when has the world seen in one individual, and that individual little more than forty years of age, so lofty a station, so immense a power, so excellent a character, and so vast an influence? Long may he live, a blessing to Russia, to Europe, and mankind.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY

A. DASCHKOFF,

MINISTER EXTRAORDINARY OF HIS MAJESTY

ALEXANDER THE FIRST,

EMPEROR OF ALL THE RUSSIAS.

SIR,

The character of the emperor of all the Russias, whom you serve, needs no other panegyric than a plain and unvarnished recital of his own actions; his reputation, no less splendid in the field than in the cabinet, requires not the aid of eulogy; the deliverance of Europe, the happiness and prosperity of so many millions, constitute his highest praise; he may now, in the language of an eminent English poet,

“Read his history in a nation’s eyes.”

I cannot, sir, better express my private feelings, than to dedicate the following pages, which constitute the biography of such a man, to one who has the honour to be his representative in this country.

I have the honour to be, with perfect respect,  
your excellency’s most obedient servant,

THE PUBLISHER.





# MEMOIRS

OF

## ALEXANDER THE FIRST.

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THE illustrious subject of our memoir was the eldest son of his immediate predecessor, the late emperor Paul, by Maria Federovna, daughter of duke Frederick Eugenius of Wirtemberg. He was born at St. Petersburg, on the 23d of December 1777; and, on the 9th of October 1793, he was married to Maria Louisa Elizabeth Alexievna, of Baden, born Jan. 4, 1779. In his person, he is tall, lusty and well proportioned; but, being a little deaf, to facilitate his hearing, he stoops. His deportment is condescending, and dignified; his face full, and his complexion fair; his eyes blue and expressive of that mildness which is one of the prominent features of his character.

In the discharge of his public duties, he displays great activity and acuteness. The leading features of his mind are sound discretion and humanity. He is so much an enemy to parade, that he is frequently seen, wrapped up in his regimental cloak, riding about the capitol alone, upon a little common horse: in this manner he has been known to administer to the wants of the poor. It is his wish, if recognized in this state, that no one will take off their hats; but the graciousness of this desire only puts the heart in the hand, as it uncovers the head. He drives about Petersburg in a chariot perfectly plain, of a dark olive colour, drawn by four horses, driven by a bearded coachman, a common little postillion, and

attended by a single footman. Soldiers are always upon the look-out for him, to give timely notice to the guard of his approach. Without this precaution, it would be impossible, amidst the crowd of carriages at the residence, to pay him the honor due to his rank. He is very much attached to the English, numbers of whom are settled in the empire, and have formed, under the auspices of the government, a sort of colony. The emperor has often been heard to remark, that "the man within whose reach Heaven has placed the greatest materials for making life happy, is, in his opinion, an *English country gentleman*."

As it is not our intention to give any particulars of the private life of his imperial majesty previous to the commencement of his public character, on his accession to the throne, we will supply the deficiency by an extract from a work published during the reign of the emperor Paul, entitled, "*Secret Memoirs of the Court of Russia*."

"The empress Catharine was prevented by death from executing another design which would have been more fatal to Paul, but that the youth and natural good disposition of his eldest son defeated it; who, by the purity of his morals, and his personal qualities, inspires a high degree of admiration. That ideal character which enchants us in Telemachus, is almost realized in him; however, though his mother may have the domestic virtues of a *Penelope*, he is very far from having had an *Ulysses* for his father, or a *Mentor* for his tutor. He may be reproached, too, with the same defects which Fenelon has allowed in his imaginary pupil; but these are perhaps not so much failings, as the absence of certain qualities not yet developed in him. or which have been instilled in his heart by the miserable companions that have been assigned him. He inherits from Catharine, an elevation of sentiment, and an unalterable

equality of temper, a mind just and penetrating, and an uncommon discretion; but a reserve and circumspection unsuitable to his age, and which might be taken for dissimulation, did it not evidently proceed rather from the delicate situation in which he was placed between his father<sup>and</sup> and grand-mother, than from his heart, which is naturally frank and ingenuous. He inherits his mother's stature and beauty, as well as her mildness and benevolence: while in none of his features does he resemble his father; and he must certainly dread him more than love him. Paul, conjecturing the intentions of Catharine in favor of this son, has always behaved coldly towards him, since he discovered in him no resemblance of character, and no conformity of taste with himself: for Alexander appears to do what his father requires of him from a principle of filial duty, rather than compliance with his own inclinations. His humanity has acquired him the hearts of the soldiers; his good sense, the admiration of the officers. He is the constant mediator between the autocrat and those unhappy persons, who, by some trifling neglect, may have provoked imperial wrath and vengeance. This pupil of La Harpe requires not the dignity of grand duke of Russia to inspire sentiments of love and interest; nature has richly endowed him with the most amiable qualities; and his character of heir to the greatest empire in the world cannot render them indifferent to humanity. Heaven may perhaps have destined him to render thirty millions of people more free than they are at present, and more worthy of being so."

Heaven, indeed, destined him to overthrow a tyranny which aimed to enslave the world; and most gloriously has he accomplished his destiny. It is not to be doubted but that the speculations of the author from whose work the above extract is taken, will also be realized in improving the condition of

the Russian people. Indeed, there is apparently no object more dear to the heart of Alexander than this.

Previously to our entering on the public character of this illustrious monarch, we must beg permission to insert an instance of his humanity, most fortunately exerted in restoring to life, by his own personal exertion, a Polish peasant. This circumstance was communicated to the Royal Humane Society of London, by James Granger, Esq. a most respectable British resident at St. Petersburg, whose account of the transaction is so perspicuous, that we shall take the liberty of transcribing it in his own words.

“His imperial majesty the emperor Alexander, in one of his journeys through Poland, by his own perseverance and personal exertion, restored to life a peasant of that country, who had been drowned a considerable time. This very interesting occurrence came to my knowledge during my stay at St. Petersburg; and took place between Korno and Wilna, in Lithuania, on the banks of the little river Willia, whence the last mentioned town derives its name.

“The emperor, from some cause or other, immaterial to the present subject, had considerably advanced his attendants; and, being led by the winding of the road within a short distance of the above mentioned river, and perceiving several persons assembled near the edge of the water, out of which they appeared to be dragging something, instantly alighted, and approaching the spot, found it to be the body of a man, apparently lifeless. Prompted by humanity alone, and without any other assistance than that of the ignorant boors around him, to whom he was no otherwise known, than that his uniform indicated an officer of rank, he had him conveyed to and laid on the side of a bank, and immediately proceeded with his own hands to assist in taking off the

wet clothes from the apparent corpse, and to rub his temples, wrists, &c. which his imperial majesty continued for a considerable time, using every other means (though destitute of any medical assistance) that appeared at the moment most likely to restore animation; but all without effect.

“In the midst of this occupation, the emperor was joined by the gentlemen of his suite, among whom were prince Volkonskoy and count Lieren, (two Russian noblemen,) and Dr. Wellie, his majesty’s head-surgeon, an English gentleman, whose professional abilities are so well known (at least on the continent) that they need no comment, who always travels with, and indeed never quits his majesty at any time.

“Their exertions were immediately added to those of the emperor; and on the doctor’s attempting to bleed the patient, his majesty held and rubbed his arm, and gave every other assistance in his power. However, that, and all other means they could devise, proved equally ineffectual; so much so, that after above three hours fruitless attempts to recover him, the doctor declared, to the extreme chagrin of the emperor (who was by this time become very anxious about it,) to be his opinion that life was quite gone, and that it was useless proceeding any further.

“Fatigued as he was by such continued exertion, the emperor could not, however rest satisfied, without entreating Dr. Wellie to persevere, and to make a fresh attempt to bleed him. The doctor, although (as he declared to me himself, and from whose own mouth I have these particulars,) he had not the slightest hope of being more successful in this than in former ones, proceeded, nevertheless, to obey the positive injunctions of his imperial majesty; when the whole of them (the noblemen, &c.) making a last effort in rubbing, &c. the emperor had at length the

inexpressible satisfaction of seeing blood make its appearance, accompanied by a slight groan.

“The emotions of his imperial majesty on this occasion, the doctor informed me, are not to be described; and, in the plentitude of his joy, he exclaimed in French, ‘Good God! this is the brightest day of my life!’ and the tears which instantaneously sprang into his eyes, indicated that these words came from the heart.

“The accompanying snuff-box, on which this interesting event is faithfully though roughly delineated, (the poor inhabitants of that part of Poland being no great artists) was sketched at a neighbouring town, for the purpose of commemorating this restoration; and is one of the four, presented on the occasion, to the principal actors in it; namely, his imperial majesty, and the three gentlemen above mentioned, who are (though not very correctly, it is true) represented on it.”

The late emperor Paul, the son and immediate successor of the celebrated Catharine II. on his accession to the throne, appeared to display a milder policy than his mother had done. His first efforts were directed to the general pacification of the empire, and to the liberating the celebrated Polish general Kosciukso, and others of his countrymen, from confinement. In 1799, however, he took a very active part against France; his celebrated general Suvaroff, performed great achievements in Italy and Switzerland, and even threatened the interior of France: but all on a sudden, with an unaccountable capriciousness, he recalled his troops, and appeared decidedly hostile to England, seizing all the British vessels in his ports, and sending all their crews into Siberia. With a degree of extravagance bordering upon phrenzy, he inserted an extraordinary challenge in the St. Petersburg Gazette, proposing to the potentates of Europe to end the wars

in which they had so long been engaged, by meeting him and his ministers, to settle all matters in dispute by single combat. These and other frantic acts appear to have given great offence to the principal nobles: a conspiracy was formed against him, and on the 12th of March (O. S.) 1801, *he died suddenly, in the night, of an apoplexy.*

On the following morning, his eldest son, Alexander, then in the 24th year of his age, was announced as his successor in the chapel of the Winter Palace, where he received the homage of the principal nobility; and, notwithstanding the terrible catastrophe which had just occurred, the prospect which opened to them, by the accession of their favourite to the throne, spread through the people an universal joy. It required, however, no inconsiderable degree of energy of character, to ascend with fortitude a throne so recently stained with the blood of his father and grand-father. The wise measures which were immediately taken to calm the public mind, to remedy the mischiefs of the former bad government, and to conciliate all ranks of people, evinced a degree of ability and strength of mind greater than was to be expected from the mildness of the new emperor's disposition. The first public act was the following proclamation.

“We, by the grace of God, Alexander the first, emperor and autocrat of all the Russias, &c. declare to all our faithful subjects—It has pleased the decrees of the Almighty to shorten the life of our beloved parent and sovereign, emperor Paul Petrovitz, who died suddenly, by an apoplectic stroke, at night, between the 11th and 12th days of this month. We, on receiving the imperial hereditary throne of all the Russias, do receive also, at the same time, the obligation to govern the people committed unto us by the Almighty, *according to the laws and heart of her who rests in God, our august grand-mother, sove-*

reign empress Catharine the great, whose memory will be dear forever to us and the whole country. Following the steps of her wise intentions, we hope to arrive at the object of carrying Russia to the summit of glory, and to procure an uninterrupted happiness to all our faithful subjects, whom we do hereby invite to seal their fidelity to us by oath, before the face of all-seeing God, whose assistance we implore to grant us power to support the weight now resting upon us.

“Given at Petersburg, the 12th of March, (O. S.) 1801. “ALEXANDER.”

And, in about a fortnight afterwards, the following ukases were issued.

1. All prisoners of state are set at liberty.
2. All the late laws relative to contraband are abolished.
3. The tariff of tolls and customs of 1782 is re-introduced.
4. *The English seamen are released from confinement.*
5. *All societies and clubs are permitted.*
6. The Order of Malta is to be nearly suppressed.
7. The Order of St. Valdimir is restored.
8. Every body may dress as he pleases, provided he does not violate public decorum.
9. The importation of books and literary productions of every sort is again permitted.
10. The regiments are to bear their old names, and the former regiment of guards to be re-organized.
11. Every person, whether native, foreigner, or exile, shall freely enter or quit the Russian dominions, without any molestation or difficulty on the frontiers.
12. Alexander, by the grace of God, &c. Whereas our manufactures have not yet gained the necessary perfection, nor are sufficient to supply the exigence of our empire:—We do hereby command,



that the prohibition against the importation of china, earthen and glass wares, steel tools and instruments, hardwares, silks, cottons and linnens, be from this moment suppressed; and that, for the present year, the tariff of 1797 be in force.

All the prohibitions against the exportation of corn were removed, and peace and good understanding were re-established between the courts of London and Petersburg, which had been so unfortunately interrupted by the impolitic conduct of the late Russian emperor.

Towards the end of the year 1801, there was a temporary suspension of hostilities throughout all Europe. The emperor's favourable disposition towards this country was alike agreeable to his natural inclinations and the wisest policy; which cannot be better evinced than by the manly and candid declarations contained in the negotiations which preceded the renewal of the peace, which had, unfortunately, to discuss the important subject which occasioned the bombardment of Copenhagen by lord Nelson. In one of these papers, his imperial majesty declared to Sir Hyde Parker, admiral of the British fleet then in the Baltic, that, though prepared to repel force by force, he persisted in his pacific sentiments; but the justice and moderation of the cabinet of London must enable him to reconcile the demands of humanity with the duties he owed to the honor of his country, and the interests of his allies. From this period, his politics maintained the same pacific character; and the mind of the emperor was turned to that wide field of improvement which his vast dominions opened to his view; his second care seemed to be the peace and happiness of Europe. All his actions bore the stamp of his character, directed to the liberty and happiness of his people, and the improvement of his dominions. With respect to the politics of Europe, his principles were those of a

peace-maker ; and Europe felt a security in his character, that if again the storm of war was to desolate its plains, that storm was not likely to come from Russia.

Very shortly after the emperor's accession to the throne, he fitted out, at his own expense, two vessels for a voyage of discovery round the world, under the command of captain Krusenstern.\* These ships were provided with every necessary for the accomplishment of the voyage ; and several eminent men of letters and science volunteered their services on this occasion.

In its external relations with other powers of Europe, the empire of Russia was favourably situated ; and the friendship of its government was anxiously sought by the two rival powers, England and France. Its internal prosperity, although somewhat interrupted by the eccentricities of the emperor Paul, was completely restored by the peace lately made with England ; and the new emperor commenced his government with the most favorable prospects. Absolute monarch over the largest empire in the world, and possessed of the enthusiastic love of his subjects, his sole object seemed to be their happiness and security.

Towards the end of the year 1803, the emperor became sensible of the importance of checking the ambition of France, before Bonaparte, their first consul, had plundered and enslaved all Germany, and extended his usurpations to the shores of the Baltic. The honor of Alexander was pledged to obtain from France, the performance of her engagements for the independence of the kingdom of Naples, and the indemnification of Sardinia for the loss of Piedmont ; and, while the negotiations on these

\* G. H. VON LANGSDORFF, who accompanied *Capt. Krusenstern*, has published an interesting account of his Voyages and Travels in various parts of the world, which have lately been published in the United States.

points were carried on between the two courts, war broke out between England and France. The Russian ambassador was directed to take leave, though not with any demonstrations of intentions to immediate hostility. A new levy of 100,000 men was ordered to recruit the Russian army. It was expressly declared, that the government augmented its military force on account of the situation of affairs in the other countries of Europe; and a declaration was made by the emperor to the court of Constantinople, that he had encouraged no such designs as were understood to have been suggested from France for the partition of its dominions.

By his magnanimous conduct, the emperor at once increased the bitter enmity of the French ruler, and acquired the confidence and admiration of whatever yet remained independent in Europe, who saw in this general and noble conduct, a principle of action which might at a future moment check the strides towards universal monarchy of the restless Corsican. The result of the line of conduct which the emperor Alexander had thus chosen, was perceptible in some uneasy movements on the part of France, and was not unuseful to the cause of England, as it occasioned the removal to Italy of many of those battallions which stationed at Bologne, were to form a part of the invading army, destined to conquer Great Britain.

The perpetration of the murder of the duke d'Eng-hien—the tragical and lamented fate of that unfortunate prince, the cold-blooded malice of the monster by whose command it was executed—and the shameful violation of the laws of nations, and the rights of the German empire, by which it was attended—made the deepest impression on every sovereign, and on every feeling mind in Europe; but on none more than on that of Alexander, the youthful and amiable sovereign of Russia. From

the moment of the emperor's accession to his vast dominions, his whole soul had been devoted to the happiness of his own subjects, and to the guarding the peace and tranquillity of the other nations of the world. The object of all his public acts appears to have been the healing up of those wounds, which Europe had received in the long war by which she had been desolated, and to secure the independence of such of her states as had survived that terrible contest. It is true that, in the question of the German indemnities, he had co-operated with France; but, as it should seem, his motives were, merely to bring that complicated question to a speedy decision, that the harmony of the empire might be restored, and that no pretence should remain for disturbing its tranquillity in future. The violation of the German territory, therefore necessarily gave him much pain on every account, both as he was its solemn guarantee, and as being an attack upon a country which, so long as it could protect its own independence, must form the most powerful bulwark to Russia, against the immeasurable ambition and revolutionary progress of France. But, however deeply Alexander must have felt as a sovereign at this outrage, perhaps even the consequences to which it manifestly led, did not weigh more upon his mind than the moral turpitude of the crime by which it was produced. Not contented, therefore, with causing his ambassador at Paris to remonstrate in the strongest manner upon the subject, he presented, by his minister at Ratisbon, a formal note to the diet there established, couched in the following terms.

“The event which has taken place in the states of his highness the elector of Baden, the conclusion of which has been so melancholy, has occasioned the most poignant grief to the emperor of all the Russias. He cannot but view with the greatest con-

cern the violation which has been committed on the tranquillity and integrity of the German empire. His imperial majesty is the more effected by this event, as he never could have expected a power, which had undertaken, in common with himself, the office of mediator, and was consequently bound to exert its care for the welfare and tranquillity of Germany, could have departed in such a manner from the sacred principles of the law of nations, and the duties it had so lately taken upon itself. It would be necessary to call the attention of the diet to the serious consequences to which the German empire must be exposed, if acts of violence, of which the first example has just been seen, should be passed over in silence; it will, with its accustomed foresight, easily perceive how much the future tranquillity and security of the whole empire, and of each of its members, must be endangered, if such violent proceedings should be deemed allowable, and suffered to take place without observation or opposition."

In answer to the note presented to the diet, the representatives of Brandenburg and of Baden expressed their hope, "that the first consul would of himself be inclined to give such a full and satisfactory explanation on the subject as might entirely correspond to the expectation of his majesty the emperor of Russia." The great majority of the other states of the German empire, conscious of the insult offered and injury sustained, yet fearful for the renewal of hostilities, in which they must risk much, and from which they could not hope to derive any advantage (the seat of war too, probably, in their own territories), preserved an inflexible silence. Under these circumstances. it is not surprising that the votes of Hanover and Pomerania should alone coincide with the sentiments of the imperial note.

Great additional solemnity was given to the representations of the court of Russia, upon this occa-

sion, by its not only having put itself into deep mourning, but by ordering all its ministers at foreign courts to do the same, in memory of the tragical fate of the duke d'Enghien; a step which the French government affected to consider as a direct insult, inasmuch as it silently but forcibly expressed the respect and attachment of the Russian emperor to the blood-royal of France, and that he considered the execution which had taken place as a barbarous and unqualified murder.

To the correspondence which ensued between the governments of Russia and France the greatest interest must necessarily attach. The state papers thence originating are not only of the utmost importance in themselves, but exhibit the most marked and striking contrast between the personal characters of the two most powerful personages in Europe. In the expressions of the one, (the illustrious subject of our memoir) we trace the godlike benevolence of a Titus or Marcus Aurelius, the friends and benefactors of the human race; in those of the other, the furious ebullitions of a Zingis or a Tamerlane, the persecutors and enslavers of mankind. The one appears mild, just and dignified, exerting his vast means in defence of the oppressed nations of the earth: his upstart rival, on the contrary, ferocious, inequitable and impatient of control, hardly conceals his aspiring to the dominion of the world. The note delivered by the Russian minister, M. Oubril, on the 21st of July, 1803, contains a very dignified and circumstantial exposition of the emperor's sentiments and views: "No state," it urges, "could view with indifference the event already mentioned, which gave such a dreadful blow to the independence and security of nations."

In consequence of the arbitrary proceedings of France, the emperor Alexander become more impressed than ever with the necessity of making eve-

ry exertion to reduce a power, which a concurrence of extraordinary circumstances had rendered so formidable, and which, from the manner in which it was administered, was productive of such monstrous abuses. Influenced by these considerations, the emperor entered, towards the close of 1804, into active negotiations with Great Britain; and at the same time, made every exertion to preserve the peace of Europe, again disturbed by the restless ambition of Bonaparte, who had resolved on the humiliation of Austria, and the destruction of the independence of Germany. In conformity with these beneficent views, he offered his mediation between the contending powers; but, at the very moment the French government was sending a passport for the Russian minister's journey to France, fresh aggressions were committed, affecting the political existence of the independent states of Italy, which obliged his imperial majesty to consider his mediation as rejected. Still, when invited by the emperor of Austria, who was now compelled to provide without delay for his own safety, to renew the negotiation for a coalition with the other courts of Europe against the common disturber, he entered into the designs of the Austrian emperor with the same spirit, and confined his warlike demonstrations to the advance of a small part of his troops, sufficient to give weight and importance to the mediation of so great a potentate. The endeavours of the emperor to maintain the peace of the continent, however, were unsuccessful; and preparations were made for the contest which was about to ensue.

Upon the return of count Marcaff, the Russian ambassador, (whom Bonaparte had, on this occasion, personally insulted,) he was received by the emperor with the most flattering marks of favour; the thanks of the emperor, returned to him for his services in the most solemn manner, were read in the di-

recting senate ; and a pension of 12,000 rubles (about 2000 pounds) annually, was settled on him.

As the intervention of Alexander in the cause of the degraded and insulted lesser states of Europe, originated in the purest and most disinterested councils ; so his conduct, now war became inevitable from the arrogant and unjust conduct of Bonaparte, was distinguished by every quality that could attach upon the character of the father of his people, and the friend of mankind. Having superintended the arrangements and preparations necessary for sending three great armies into the field, destined to act in aid of Austria, and which were to enter Germany successively, he (at a moment when, the French having violated the Prussian territory, his presence might have been of the greatest consequence) suddenly appeared at Berlin, which city he reached on the 28th of October. Here he gained all hearts by his affable and engaging manners, and seemed for a moment to have infused some portion of his spirit into the Prussian councils. But the ruin of the Austrian army at Ulm, and the retreat of the first Russian army from the Inn, changed the aspect of affairs, and compelled the emperor to return with equal rapidity, and place himself at the head of his troops.

It is not necessary here to give the history of the unfortunate campaign which nearly destroyed the Austrian empire and the independence of Europe, at the battle of Austerlitz. The emperor Alexander performed all that could be expected from the magnanimity of his character, and the sincerity of his policy. In this fatal battle he exhibited the most courageous personal devotion to the cause in which he had engaged. He placed himself at the head of the fourth column of the allied army, and constantly remained with the infantry during the whole of the terrible conflict, exhibiting great proofs of presence of mind and military ability. When the fortune of



the day turned to the side of the French, the efforts of Alexander were most conspicuous. It is said, that he, thrice, at the head of his guards charged the enemy; and, by his gallantry, not only secured the retreat of the remainder of the allied army, which would otherwise have been cut to pieces, but actually saved the greater part of the Russian artillery, which he rescued and carried off with him, after it had been taken possession of by the victorious French. Nor do we find that his nobleness of mind, or magnanimity of conduct, deserted him when the fatal issue of that day decided the fate of the war. He made no proposition for peace, or offers of submission to the conqueror. To the humiliating conditions imposed by Bonaparte upon the emperor of Austria, Alexander, with his accustomed greatness of mind, refused to become a party; and accordingly, caused his army, although under very distressing circumstances, to commence its retreat, on the 6th of December, 1804, from the Austrian states, preserving at the same time too formidable a front for pursuit or molestation.

That the public character of the illustrious subject of this memoir may be rescued from the possibility of suffering any diminution from the failure of the campaign which had thus been concluded, we feel it necessary to record some historical facts, to which this failure may with great reason be ascribed. The whole success of the proposed plan depended upon the circumstance of the Austrians being able to maintain their position upon the Leck till the arrival of the Russian army. It was evident, however, that the French army might reach the banks of that river a considerable time before the first division of the troops of Russia; the enemy would therefore easily outnumber the imperialists in Germany, and compel them, in consequence, to retreat. General Mack, to whom most unfortunately the command of the

Austrian army was intrusted, was the most unfit commander that the court of Vienna could have selected for the purpose of opposing an enemy remarkably distinguished for the impetuosity of his spirit, the rapidity of his movements, and the novelty and boldness of his designs. The Austrian army did not arrive on the banks of the Lech in time ; but, immediately afterwards, the general abandoned that position, and departed entirely from the original plan of the campaign, to which circumstance the subsequent disasters of the war are in a great measure to be ascribed. Another capital error was committed by the Austrians in suffering the army assembled by the French to pass through the territory of Anspach, and thus be enabled to interrupt the communication of general Mack, with the Austrian states and the Russian auxiliaries, (the first division of which had not yet arrived at the Inn,) and post an army of 160,000 men in his rear, while the Austrian army did not amount to half the number.

The unfortunate manner in which the Austrian cabinet conducted the first operations of the campaign with respect to Bavaria, with a sacrifice of principle to *expediency*, consequently multiplied the difficulties the imperialists had to encounter. In pursuance of the plan of the campaign, it was necessary to traverse the whole electorate ; and the friendly disposition and co-operation of that government, whose force was estimated at about 20,000 men, was essentially necessary to contribute to the security and strength of the Austrian army. But the court of Vienna was jealous of the inclinations, and suspicious of the designs of the elector, which it was therefore judged *expedient* to anticipate, and endeavour, while the French army was still at a distance, to intimidate him into an immediate decision in favour of the allies. For this purpose, prince Schwartzemberg was ordered to proceed to Munich,

and to deliver to the elector of Bavaria a letter from the emperor, in which he was required immediately to join his army to that of Austria. The prince was further directed to state, that the electoral troops could not be allowed to act in a separate body, but must be incorporated with the Austrians. The demand was accompanied with menaces in case of refusal, and was rendered still more offensive from the imperious tone and manner in which it was communicated. The elector, taken by surprise, was compelled to dissemble: he entreated in the most earnest manner to be allowed to maintain his neutrality, but at length affected to yield to the pressing remonstrances of the Austrian minister. He addressed a short note, couched in the most friendly terms, to the prince Schwartzenberg, in which he promised upon certain conditions, to sign the treaty proposed by the court of Vienna. On the following day he dispatched general Nogarolla with a letter to the emperor, stating, that he had directed his minister to sign, that morning, a treaty with the prince Schwartzenberg, pursuant to which he should join his troops with those of his imperial majesty. It was, however, discovered that the prince was not invested with powers to negotiate, and a further delay was thus obtained.

In the mean time intelligence was hourly received at Munich, of the preparations made by the Austrians to enter Bavaria. It became, therefore necessary to adopt decisive measures. Accordingly on the night of the 8th of September, which was the day upon which the treaty with Austria was to have been signed, orders were secretly issued to the different garrisons, and to the detachments of troops scattered throughout this country, to hasten by forced marches into the upper Palatinate. The elector, accompanied by his court, suddenly withdrew to Wurtzburg, and the Austrian army entered with-

out opposition. The imperialists advanced towards the upper Palatinate; and the Bavarians retired before them into Franconia. The negociation, however still continued; new proposals were made, allowing the neutrality of the elector, upon condition that he should immediately disband his army. This proposition, and others subsequently made, were rejected by the elector, who relied on the support and assistance of France, into whose arms he was thrown by the impolitic conduct of Austria.

Another cause of the failure of the exertions of the emperor of Russia in favour of the independence of Europe, may be found in the political system of the Prussian government; which we shall have ample occasion hereafter to discuss, with sufficient facts to prove how erroneous and fatal it proved.

Bonaparte having, in his bulletin, grossly misrepresented the facts of the battle of Austerlitz, the emperor Alexander published the following authentic account of it.

*“ Troppau, Jan. 25th.*

“ The issue of the battle of Austerlitz has been so well confirmed by its consequences, that it is almost incredible how France could publish such extravagant and untrue relations of that affair. All Europe, and the Russian nation in particular, justly expect a relation on our part. The love of truth alone, and the wish to adduce none but authenticated facts, have hitherto prevented the appearance of this relation. In the mean while, it is necessary to correct some of the statements of the French bulletins, particularly the 30th, and to lay them before the public. General Savary spoke only with two persons belonging to the emperor's suite; and, excepting these, he only saw some field-adjutants, who had brought dispatches from their chiefs, or were in waiting to transmit orders to them. The chief of the French nation might not have derived any pleas-

ure from the conversation of Prince Dolgorucky ; but he at the same time forgot that the Russians did not belong to those nations who sought his protection. The number of the allied army, as stated in the bulletins, was 105,000 men, viz. 80,000 Russians and 25,000 Austrians, and the French much inferior. But why were their numbers not given? Besides the reserve, which was said alone to be equal to an army, the enemy's force consisted of four large divisions of 20,000 infantry and 3000 cavalry each, commanded by a marshal and two generals of division. The combined army on the other hand, consisted of 52,000 Russians and 17,000 Austrians. But this inferiority in number was the least misfortune in the Russian army ; the scarcity of provisions was so great, that, for nearly two days preceding the battle, they had nothing to eat. The horses were famished to such a degree, that those belonging to the artillery could no longer draw. Of course, in the battle the artillery was of little use, excepting in those stations where it was first planted. The total failure of provisions and forage was alone sufficient to prevent our maintaining our post any longer at Olmutz, or to take another station further in the rear. These circumstances urged the necessity of the battle, the happy result of which could only be expected from the valour of the troops. The imperial guard, of which it is said in a bulletin that it lost all its colours, are still in possession of them, and have taken one pair from the enemy. The combined army, it is said, lost 15,000 killed, and 20,000 prisoners. Do they include among these the 20,000 said to have been drowned? After so many forced marches and so much fatigue and hunger as had been sustained, with the sickness consequent thereunto, after the affairs upon the Danube and Moravia, of the whole Russian army there is not a deficiency of more than 17,000 men. But were the

loss as considerable as the bulletin has pretended, why was not the Russian army pursued, as the bulletin falsely asserts? On the contrary, the Russian army kept the field till the next morning. The armistice was not concluded, but with the emperor of Germany, at whose particular desire the Russians first commenced their retreat; and which was also effected in good order and without loss, notwithstanding the French partly assert, that during the negotiations with Austria, the French army prosecuted its victories. To enhance the glory of this day, the French bulletin says, that the French guard (the reserve corps) took no part in the battle. The same bulletin, however, afterwards asserts, that when one French battallion was broken by the Russian guard, Bonaparte ordered marshal Bessiers to advance, and that the imperial guards on both sides immediately came to action.

“The French bulletins abound with false statements, over which the pretended noise and distraction occasioned by the discharge of two hundred pieces of cannon, and a conflict between two hundred thousand men, throw but a flimsy covering. Can it possibly serve the interests of a great general, to sanction such reports? Can he really stand in need of such means as these to increase that military glory which is not denied him? Posterity will do justice to the truth.”

The Russian forces after their return, in consequence of peace between France and Austria, were still kept up to their establishment, or rather indeed considerably increased by new levies. The idea of prosecuting the war seemed by no means abandoned on the part of the emperor, and the hope seemed to be entertained by him of a renewed opportunity for retrieving the affairs of the allies, and effecting the deliverance of Europe. In the mean time, he was not inactive in that field which was still open to

his exertions. By the treaty of Presburgh, the Venetian territories, which had been ceded to Austria by the peace of Luneville, together with part of Istria and Dalmatia, were to be added to the kingdom of Italy, as also the mouths of the Cattaro. The latter constitute a position upon the Adriatic of extraordinary strength. By the various intersections of rivers, and other peculiar circumstances attending this situation, it is capable of defence by a very small number of men against a very superior force. The officer who commanded the fortress was general Brady, who possessed but a small number of troops—according to the Austrian statement, not more than eighty men. The time for delivering it up had expired, and nevertheless it remained still in the hands of the Austrian commandant; when an officer in the Russian service, whether instructed by his government, or acting from the suggestions of his own mind, with respect to the importance of the enterprise, appeared before the place, and summoned it to surrender. The expedition was conducted with promptitude and decision; and, from the suddenness of his appearance, the inefficacy of the garrison, or a disposition on the part of the governor to accommodate the recent ally, rather than the enemy of his master, with so valuable a station, the Russian officer easily succeeded, and the summons was obeyed without delay. The dexterity with which the French in this instance were circumvented by an enemy whom they had affected to despise as destitute of the least portion of skill and stratagem, gave no small triumph to the court of Petersburg; little less, perhaps, than what arose from the importance of the acquisition itself. On the other hand, intelligence of this event was received by the cabinet of the Thuilleries with all those indications of chagrin and rage which might naturally be expected. The French ambassador at Vienna was

ordered to remonstrate on the occasion with extreme energy, and to insist most peremptorily on the fulfilment of the treaty of Presburgh, and on the delivery of Cattaro, not through the medium of its present Russian possessor, but by the Austrians themselves, from whose hands alone the French should receive it. Russia, however, maintained her conquest, amidst all the discussions and irritation to which it gave rise, until toward the conclusion of the year, when a larger theatre was opened for her exertions, and the circumstances of Albania (which yet, after its original seizure, afforded no event of considerable consequence) formed the principal object of her attention.

In the summer of the year 1806, negociations were entered into for a peace with France in concert with England, when a circumstance occurred which gave the emperor Alexander an opportunity of proving his good faith towards this country, and the firmness of his character.

The French court had been able to cajole the Russian minister, M. Oubril, into a separate treaty of peace, which was transmitted to Petersburgh for the emperor's ratification: this, however, was promptly refused, and a declaration issued referring to the event, which contained the following passage.

“But, at the same time, to afford a proof of the immutability of our principles, which, under various circumstances, had ever been directed to the same end, we at that time made known the conditions on which we were disposed to renew our negociations with the French government. The basis proposed by us are so moderate, that they cannot be rejected without an open menace of the general safety; and they are so consistent with the advantage of every power concerned, that, in case of their being accepted, a general peace must not only follow, but be confirmed to Europe upon the most



permanent footing. Thus must peace, or the continuance of the war, be the consequences of these measures. We wish for peace; but if no lasting peace can be obtained, grounded upon mutual advantage, then it will be necessary, for the honour of the Russian name, the sacred character of our engagements, and the general deliverance of Europe, to proceed to extremities, which on these considerations cannot but appear to us as absolutely indispensable. We are convinced that each of our faithful subjects, animated with the love of their country, impelled by a sense of honour, and surrounded by examples of patriotic zeal, will speedily unite their powerful efforts with our own, as soon as the safety of Russia, the voice of glory, and our command, shall call upon them to co-operate for the public good. In this firm reliance upon the help of God, and the zeal of our faithful subjects, we have thought it necessary to apprise you beforehand of our views, and in so doing to afford you a new proof, that in all our undertakings we neither seek the extension of our territory, nor the fleeting glory of victories, but that it is our wish and endeavour to secure the general safety, the preservation of our allies, and the dignity of our empire.

“Given at St. Petersburg, 1807, August 30, and in the sixth year of our government.

“ALEXANDER.”

In a declaration which followed, the emperor notices the disastrous events of the last year—the peace which Austria had been obliged, under peculiarly disadvantageous terms, to make—and the unfortunate situation of Prussia. Plunged in a deceitful security by the hope of a peace which she vainly flattered herself to enjoy, and the false confidence she placed in a perfidious ally, she had suddenly been precipitated in an abyss of misfortune. The armies of Napoleon falling upon the Prussian

troops before they had time to assemble, defeated them ; and the capital, unprotected, became to the French an easy conquest ; and, finally, they had made themselves masters of the greatest part of the provinces of the kingdom. In this state of affairs, seeing that the neighbouring power which separated France from the western provinces of the Russian empire, was deprived of all means of defence, it became indispensably necessary for his majesty to advance the army under the conduct of field-marshal count Kamenskoy, for the defence of the Russian territory.

During the campaign that ensued, the Russian army under general Beningsen disputed, and successfully disputed, the power of France ; at Pultusk, Eylau, and Heilsberg, they conquered ; and maintained its honour unimpaired in the unequal battle of Friedland.

It was, however, judged inexpedient to continue to oppose the vast accumulation of force which France was now able to use ; accordingly an armistice was agreed to, at the instance of the Russian general, which produced the peace which soon afterwards was signed at Tilsit.

Sir Robert Wilson's review of this event, and the circumstances which led to it, is so well entitled to respect for its justice, and the authenticity of his information on the subject, that we shall give it in the words of the gallant author.

“ At Tilsitz, the emperor Alexander might descend from his dignity, and suspend his estimation in Europe, by a contaminating connection of personal amity with Bonaparte : but even in that fatal moment he was not senseless to his duty, as protector of Russian interests (for the sake of which he, indeed, consented to the revolting sacrifice) ; and although he humiliated his own majesty, he enriched the sway and essentially strengthened the throne of

succeeding autocrats. Peace was not degrading to Russia : the mode of affiancing with France could only render such peace a reproach."

"After the glorious and sanguinary resistance that she had alone opposed to Bonaparte with all his means, she was warranted in sheathing an undishonoured sword, if her situation and immediate interests required some repose. She had engaged in the campaign as an ally of Prussia ; she had prepared only as an auxiliary, and to support a sovereign who could bring into the field above 200,000 soldiers of high military character, whose country was covered with strong fortresses, and who had the means of abundantly providing every supply. By the loss of one battle, and a series of unparalleled treasons and misfortunes, Prussia was in a few days annihilated ; and the conquerors, confident in numbers, and presumptuous from victory, appeared on the Vistula with the declared intention of planting their eagles on the towers of St. Petersburg.

"The Russian army, inadequate in numbers, unprepared for such a contest, reinforced by no more than 10,000 dispirited Prussians, instead of the victorious multitude that they anticipated to join on the banks of the Rhine—with a knowledge of their immediate wants—without the hope of succour for many months—conscious, but always indignant at the disasters of Austerlitz, resolved to resist the menacing torrent ; and, by a combination of extraordinary courage and endurance, they not only arrested its progress, but preserved the Russian territory from the foot of an invader, and finally maintained an attitude which obliged Bonaparte to treat their country with a consideration that no hostile power had ever before experienced in his negotiations.

"Had Alexander but refused for a *third* time that interview which Bonaparte so eagerly urged, and sent his ministers to treat for a peace which the exi-

gencies of Russia might have rendered desirable, such peace would have been sanctioned by honour, and, although not in unison with the wishes of England, England would have had no right to remonstrate with asperity, or reproach the termination of a war which Russia had alone sustained. If Alexander had not yielded a final acquiescence to councils repugnant to his own feelings—if, in that extremity, he had collected around him the wise, the patriotic, the loyal and the brave, who were ready to support him, and were devoted to his interest—his dignity would have been preserved, and his ministers would have been enabled to maintain a tone commanding terms so favourable, that the assurance of a prosperous continuation of the war could scarcely have offered equal advantages to Russia.” *Sir Robert Wilson’s Sketch of the Campaign in Poland, &c.*

Very shortly after the peace of Tilsit, the amicable relations of Russia with this country were interrupted; and the unfortunate expedition against Copenhagen, under lord Cathcart and admiral Gambier, completely deprived us of the favourable opinion of the emperor Alexander.

The expectation of assistance from England, whether well or ill founded, was the cause, not of the peace of Tilsit, but of the temper with which it was concluded. Out of twenty dispatches received from an ambassador with the emperor, there was not one in which he did not say, “Send assistance, or Russia will fail you; make a diversion, that shall take part of the weight of the war off Russia, or she will withdraw from it.” This assistance was not given, and Russia was compelled to conclude the treaty of Tilsit—not, however, before the emperor Alexander had endeavoured to mediate a peace between Great Britain and France. Upon the refusal of our court to accept this offer, a declaration of

a hostile nature was issued by the emperor, and the two countries most interested in the welfare of each other, unfortunately placed in a state of war.

We think it our duty, and within the limits of our plan, to bring forward every fact which tends to disclose the principle of action, which on this occasion seemed to influence the mind of the illustrious subject of this memoir; and therefore present to our readers the following important record of the speech of lord Hutchinson, (the military public agent of this country to the armies of the allies) in the debate on the expedition to Copenhagen.

Lord Hutchinson said, "he had listened with the greatest attention to the very able and eloquent speech of the marquis Wellesley, who had just sat down, but had been unable to extract from it any justification, satisfactory to his mind, of the expedition to Copenhagen. The noble lord had failed in proving that Zealand could not have been effectually defended, even if the French were in possession of Holstein and Jutland. He was of opinion, even supposing the French to have been in possession of Holstein and Jutland, that still Zealand might have been defended with effect against the French arms. He had been employed on a very important mission, and he thought it the more necessary to say something respecting that mission; in consequence of partial extracts from his letters having been communicated in another place, by which he had been held out as giving opinions which were never delivered by him. The Russian army in Poland, never amounted to more than 70,000 men, with the exception of two detached divisions, amounting to about 30,000. The French troops were estimated at 150,000. From the disasters sustained by the former, at and after the unfortunate battle of Friedland, the loss of the Russians amounted to 40,000 men; they lost also 1898 officers, and 28 generals.

He was then perfectly convinced, that Russia must make peace with France. He believed, also, that the emperor of Russia was sincere in his desire to mediate, if possible, a peace between this country and France ; but, at all events, he then believed, that the relations of peace and amity might have been preserved between Great Britain and Russia.—The treaty of Tilsit was signed on the 7th of July.

“ On the 23d of August, my lords, I had a conversation with the emperor of Russia, at Kamennostroff. His imperial majesty asked me, whether I had not admitted to count Strogonoff, three days after the battle of Friedland, that it was necessary for him to make peace ? I told him that had I done so, that I was of that opinion then, which subsequent events had confirmed ; that I thought myself bound, in justice to him and to myself publicly to avow it ; which I should continue to do as long as I lived. His imperial majesty said, ‘ we are then both agreed on the necessity there was to make peace.’ I answered in the affirmative.

“ His imperial majesty proceeded to state that he had offered his mediation to England ; that he attached no false vanity (*gloriole* was the French word) to the acceptance or rejection of his mediation ; but that it was his most sincere and anxious wish that England should make peace, as he was sure that it was his interest, and also that of Europe, and ours, that we should restore tranquillity to the world.

“ I said to his imperial majesty, that he had not given sufficient time for England to accept or reject his mediation, because a much longer period than a month must elapse before any answer could be received ; and, though the disposition of my mind inclined towards peace, I, nor no other man in England would accept it, but on conditions the most reasonable and honourable ; that, as far as we were

concerned, the events of the war had been highly favourable.

“To which his imperial majesty replied, that the time allowed was of no importance, because we might take three or four months, if we pleased, to accept or reject his mediation; but his anxious wish and desire was, that we should make peace. That he had a perfect knowledge of the feelings and character of the people of England; that he had been made acquainted by Bonaparte with the conditions proposed to be offered, and that he had no doubt that even I myself would consider them to be highly reasonable and honourable.

“Some confidential conversation followed which I do not think myself at liberty to disclose; but from what then passed, as I have already stated, I was justified in believing that the relations of peace and amity might have been preserved between the two countries. It has been stated in another place, that I had given an opinion, that if the attack on Copenhagen had not taken place, Russia would not have gone to war with this country. My lords, I never gave such an opinion; nor do I mean now to say, that if that attack had not been made, there would have been no war with Russia; but I mean to say, that the result of that expedition did materially change the relations between Great Britain and Russia, and gave rise to sentiments of a very hostile nature at the court of Petersburg.

“Intelligence of the result of the attack on Copenhagen arrived at St. Petersburg on the 27th or 28th of August. On the 4th of September, I saw the emperor again at Kamennostroff. His imperial majesty began the conversation, by asking me what I thought of our attack upon Copenhagen?

“I replied, that I was entirely ignorant of the circumstances which had occasioned that attack; but I hoped that the administration in England could

justify themselves, and prove to the world, that the Danes were on the eve of joining all their forces to the French, to make common cause against England.

“His imperial majesty told me in reply, that it was impossible for me to be of that opinion, if I would recollect the repeated conversations which had taken place between us, on the subject of Denmark, at Bartenstein, in which he told me that he had used every effort in his power to bring forward the crown prince of Denmark, and to induce him to join the coalition against France. The answers of the prince had always been explicit and uniform—that he had maintained for many years a system of neutrality, in which he was determined to persevere, as the people whom he governed had flourished and prospered under it, and that no consideration should ever induce him to depart from it. His imperial majesty added, that I must be acquainted with the decision of character which belonged to the crown prince; that nothing was so difficult as to shake his determination, or to induce him to change any line of conduct which he had once adopted; and that he was sure no connection existed between the French and Danish governments previous to the attack on Copenhagen.

“I then said that I believed lord G. L. Gower had delivered to his imperial majesty’s minister a note on the subject; to which his imperial majesty answered that he had, but that the contents of it were nugatory, as it contained no sufficient explanation, or offer of satisfaction. His imperial majesty then proceeded to state the great concern which our unjustifiable aggression had given him; that the French government never had done any thing so strong; that it justified every thing they had done, or might do hereafter. If such proceedings were admissible, there was an end of all those relations



which had usually influenced the conduct of nations towards each other; that every body was at liberty to do just what they pleased, and that he might attack Sweden to-morrow. His imperial majesty then told me, in the most peremptory language, tone and manner, that he would have satisfaction, complete satisfaction, for this unprovoked aggression; that it was his duty, as emperor of Russia, to demand it; and that he would have it. And he asked me, whether even I myself could venture to differ with him on that subject? He then said, that he was bound to Denmark by the most solemn treaties and engagements, which treaties and engagements he was determined to adhere to and fulfil. His imperial majesty then added, that he supposed we meant to make an attack on Cronstadt: he did not know what the event of that attack might be; but this he knew, that he was determined to resist to the last man, and to prove himself not entirely unworthy of filling that high station to which it had pleased Providence to call him.

“I told his imperial majesty, that I had strong reason to hope and believe, that no attack would be made on Cronstadt. His imperial majesty said he was prepared for such an event, and had taken his determination upon it, which was that which he had before stated to me. He then closed the conversation, by repeating, with much emphasis, that ‘he would have satisfaction for Denmark.’

“These conversations were of the greatest importance, with respect to the views and sentiments of the Russian government, being held, not with any minister, but with the head of the government, with the emperor of Russia himself; and from them, his lordship observed, he conceived himself justified in drawing the conclusion, that the attack on Copenhagen had materially changed the relations between this country and Russia. He had seen the most

atrocious libels against the emperor of Russia, tending to set up that monarch as a mark of indignation and reproach, and even to raise his own subjects against him. These libels were published in this country, and could not be sufficiently reprobated. The noble lord had treated lightly the opinion expressed in Europe respecting the expedition to Copenhagen; but he was certain that that opinion was highly unfavorable to this country, particularly in the north of Europe; nor did he conceive that the expedition had been justified by the arguments used by the noble lord."

The adherence of Sweden to her alliance with England, drew upon her the hostility of all her northern neighbours; and the conquest of Swedish Finland by Russia was the consequence.

The most important event which we have to notice subsequent to the treaty of Tilsit, is the active concurrence of the emperor Alexander in the war between France and Austria, which was brought to so unfortunate a conclusion.

We shall not attempt to enter into any discussion of the expediency or policy of the Russian emperor in thus becoming subservient, as it should seem, to the ambition of the very man he had so lately opposed with so much fortitude. The errors of this policy have been amply expiated; and a twelve-month did not elapse before general ruin and misery which rapidly spread throughout Russia, in consequence of the total want of commerce, obliged the emperor Alexander to relax in a system which the intrigues of Bonaparte had induced him to adopt. This relaxation drew upon him the hostility of the French nation, who immediately began to arrange his plans for the destruction of the Russian empire.

It was to no purpose that Alexander represented to him the actual pressure of public suffering throughout Russia: that she could no longer exist

as a nation without commerce ; and that he was willing to make great sacrifices to secure even a portion of trade to his subjects : that he was contented to lay a new duty of twenty-five per cent. on all colonial produce and goods of British manufacture, and would allow France half the revenue to sanction the measure. Bonaparte insultingly replied to these proposals, that nothing short of the total exclusion of British shipping from the ports of Russia would satisfy him ; and that any compromise on his part would be a total abandonment of the continental system.

Alexander had already used all possible endeavours to avert the evils of war. His relation, the duke of Oldenburgh, had been plundered of his dominions by Bonaparte, in a time of peace ; which was submitted to by the emperor with no greater effort in behalf of the injured prince than the issue of an ineffectual protest, which, however, a year afterwards, was considered as having “ annihilated the alliance.”

The court of St. Petersburg for a long period had foreseen that actual hostility, and another appeal to arms, could alone preserve the independence and stability of the empire, and that all the power of Russia would be necessary for her own defence ; yet, anxious to prevent the effusion of blood, it procrastinated every indication of hostility until its own dignity could no longer be upheld, or its integrity and safety preserved by further delay.

As early as the spring of the year 1811, the cabinet of Russia perceived that war was inevitable. The king of Saxony had been called on to concentrate the troops belonging to the duchy of Warsaw on the Vistula ; the conscription throughout France had been very considerably extended ; and the designs of Bonaparte became daily more evident. The military preparations, therefore, in Russia,

were made on the most extensive scale. Cannon were secretly sent from the arsenal toward the frontiers; the different battalions called "garrison regiments," were incorporated with the regular forces; and by the end of February in that year, no less than 200,000 men were quartered in the western provinces of that empire; while many, it is now ascertained, of the most intelligent generals, who commanded divisions of these troops, successively visited St. Petersburg under the pretext of arranging their private affairs, but in reality for the purpose of conferring with the minister at war on the state of their respective corps.

These preparations were increased with redoubled activity, after the incorporation of the Hans Towns with the French empire, and the seizure of the duchy of Oldenburgh (the integrity of which latter state was guaranteed by the 12th and 15th articles of the treaty of Tilsit), on the principle, that by their continuing to trade with Great Britain, "their commerce frustrated the salutary and decisive regulations of the decrees of Berlin and Milan, which alone were calculated effectually to resist the principles of the British orders in council."

The emperor Alexander was deeply affected by these aggressions, and perfectly aware of the tendency of Napoleon's ambitious designs. The time, however was not yet arrived, when it was judged expedient to pursue that vigorous line of conduct which, perhaps, he ought to have sooner adopted. The situation of Russia with respect to Turkey was still unsettled: she had made the greatest exertions in a destructive contest with that power, and her finances were considerably embarrassed. It was also very uncertain what part Bernadotte, the crown prince of Sweden, might take in a contest between Russia and France; it being well known that every exertion had been made by Bonaparte to engage that

prince to enter into his designs. No time, however, was lost in encouraging the manufacture of arms: 500,000 musquets and 2000 pieces of ordnance were rapidly finished, and ready for any disposable purpose; various fortifications were erected on the banks of the Dwina; and, upon the whole, the military preparations were much more formidable, and upon a larger scale, than those which preceded the wars of 1805 and 1807. The organization too, of the forces was changed. The cavalry, which used to be attached to the different divisions of infantry was separated from them. The infantry of the line consisted of twenty eight divisions of six regiments each, and every regiment contained three battalions of 600 effective men; forming a total of 302,400 infantry. The cavalry were composed of seven divisions, of forty squadrons each; every squadron of 142 effective men, amounting in the whole to 39,760, besides 50,000 Cossacks, making together a force of 392,100 men. From this enumeration may be deducted nine divisions: two of them were to be employed against the Persians, five against the Turks, and two were to continue in Finland by way of precaution. There then remained 294,960 men, which Russia could, in the year 1811, have opposed to France, exclusively of the militia; for arming which latter force there were a sufficient number of military depots well provided, and situated in convenient places for the distribution of arms and stores.

It will also be evident from the following document, which is the substance of an engagement afterwards entered into between the courts of St. Petersburg and Stockholm, signed at St. Petersburg the 24th March, 1812, so far as the same are referred to in a subsequent treaty between his majesty the king of Great Britain and the king of Sweden, signed at Stockholm, the 3d of March, 1813, that,

for some time before Bonaparte invaded Russia, the courts of St. Petersburg and Stockholm had, from the movements of the French armies threatening the Russian empire, engaged to make a diversion in Germany against France and her allies, with a strong force of between 40 and 50,000 men: but, as this diversion could not be securely made whilst Norway could be regarded as the enemy of Sweden, Russia engaged, either by negociation or military co-operation, to unite that kingdom to Sweden. The acquisition of Norway was to be considered as a preliminary operation to the diversion in Germany. An indemnity was to be offered to Denmark in Germany, if she would cede Norway; if she refused, she was to be considered as an enemy.

“The object of the emperor of Russia and the king of Sweden, in forming an alliance, is stated to be for the purpose of securing reciprocally, their states and possessions against the common enemy.

“The French government having, by the occupation of Swedish Pomerania, committed an act of hostility against the Swedish government, and, by the movements of its armies, having menaced the tranquillity of the empire of Russia, the contracting parties engage to make a diversion against France and her allies, with a combined force of twenty-five or thirty thousand Swedes, and of fifteen or twenty thousand Russians, upon such point of the coast of Germany as may be judged most convenient for that purpose.

“As the king of Sweden cannot make this diversion in favour of the common cause, consistently with the security of his own dominions so long as he can regard the kingdom of Norway as an enemy, his majesty the emperor of Russia engages, either by negociation or by military co-operation, to unite the kingdom of Norway to Sweden. He engages, more-

over, to guarantee the peaceable possession of it to his Swedish majesty.

“The two contracting parties engage to consider the acquisition of Norway by Sweden as a preliminary operation to the diversion on the coast of Germany; and the emperor of Russia promises to place for this object, at the disposal, and under the immediate orders of the prince royal of Sweden, the corps of Russian troops above stipulated.

“The two contracting parties being unwilling, if it can be avoided, to make an enemy of the king of Denmark, will propose to that sovereign to accede to this alliance; and will offer to his Danish majesty to procure for him a complete indemnity for Norway, by a territory more contiguous to his German dominions, provided his Danish majesty will cede forever his rights on the kingdom of Norway to the king of Sweden.

“In case his Danish majesty refuses this offer, and shall have decided to remain in alliance with France, the two contracting parties engage to consider Denmark as their enemy.

“As it has been expressly stipulated that the engagements of his Swedish majesty to co-operate with his troops in Germany in favour of the common cause, shall not take effect until Norway shall have been acquired to Sweden, either by the cession of the king of Denmark, or in consequence of military operations, his majesty the king of Sweden engages to transport his army into Germany, according to a plan of campaign to be agreed upon, as soon as the above object shall have been obtained.

“His Britanic majesty to be invited by both powers to accede to, and to guarantee the stipulations contained in the said treaty.

“By a subsequent convention, signed at Abo, the 30th of August, 1812, the Russian auxiliary force was to be carried to 35,000.”

As a further proof that the Russian cabinet had long considered a war with France inevitable, that it perceived the little security which would be derived from any further submission to the usurpation and tyranny of Bonaparte, and that the time was now arrived to resist his unwarrantable pretensions and encroachments, it may be recollected, that a positive refusal was given to the demand of the French minister with respect to the adoption of the burning decrees, notwithstanding his repeated claims on that subject by the command of his master, and which had been successful both in Denmark and Germany; nor must it be forgotten, that the Russian government permitted the sale of all British manufactures, and even took measures to prevent the entrance of many articles usually imported from France, to the great detriment of French commerce, especially that of Lyons. The war with England was also extremely unpopular throughout Russia; as the greater part of the nobility derived their incomes from the produce of their estates which had before found a principal market in England.

It is not to be doubted, therefore, but that Russia had been long aware that it would be necessary, sooner or later, to have recourse to arms, to defend herself from the threatened hostility of France, if not to recover her independence; and this foresight enabled her to augment the preparation of her war-like means.

On the 23d March, 1812, the emperor Alexander issued the following declaration for the recruiting of his forces.

“The present situation of Europe requires the adoption of firm and strong measures, as well as indefatigable vigilance and energetic exertions, so as



to fortify our extensive empire in the most formidable way possible against all hostile enterprises. Our bold and courageous Russian nation has been accustomed to live in peace and harmony with all the surrounding nations: but, when storms have threatened our empire, patriots of all ranks and stations were ready to draw the sword for the defence of their religion and laws.

“Now there appears to be the most urgent necessity to increase the number of our troops by a new levy. Our strong forces are already at their posts, for the defence of the empire; their bravery and courage are known to all the world. The confidence of their emperor and government is with them. Their faith and love will make them irresistible against a far superior force. With the same paternal care have we adopted all defensive measures, to secure the safety and welfare of all and every one; and therefore order—1st, To raise in the whole empire, from each five hundred men, two recruits; 2dly, To commence in all governments two weeks after the receipt of the ukase, and to be finished in the course of a month; 3dly, To conform to the regulations laid down with respect to the levy of recruits by an ukase presented to the senate, and dated September 13, 1811; 4thly, The recruits to be kept in the garrison towns, with the garrison and interior battalions, on the same footing as the recruits for provisionary depots are kept and brought up.

“The immediate fulfilment of this order for raising of recruits during the period fixed is entrusted to the senate.”

The downfall of Russia had been openly declared by Bonaparte to have been decreed by an unavoidable destiny; and he gave himself out as the hero appointed to fulfil the high commission, which imposed on him the task of driving the Muscovites back to

the deserts of Asia. His military fame, his good fortune, and the immense force he was about to bring together to execute his threatened vengeance, induced the unthinking part of mankind to imagine the probability of his success, and his abettors and the partizans of his system to speculate on the advantages they might derive from a division of the spoil; while the more wise and upright found reason to hope, that the madness of his ambition would tend to the ruin of the tyrant, and the deliverance of Europe from his iron sway. How perfectly has the result justified these hopes, which were founded on the principle, that what is radically wrong, must, sooner or later, be overthrown.

The Russian army was now numerous and well appointed: the people, in every part of the empire, inspired with the most enthusiastic patriotism, and burning with the desire to meet their invaders. At the same time, the French bulletins proclaimed to the world, that Russia was in her last agonies, her regular armies annihilated, and her troops reduced to the forced militia of the provinces; and that terror and dismay had seized on all.

Bonaparte did not omit to use the influence he so unfortunately possessed over the Austrian government, to obtain a treaty of alliance; by which the latter engaged to furnish thirty thousand men, to act against Russia, on the condition of receiving, if attacked, an equal succour from France.

Before the commencement of the war with France the emperor Alexander issued a proclamation to his subjects, stating the extremity to which he had allowed himself to be reduced, previous to taking that step, and exhorting them to the most strenuous exertions; and, after the passage of the Niemen, caused the following address to be published:

“For a long time we have remarked the hostile

comportment of the French emperor towards Russia; but we still hoped, through moderate and pacific measures, to avert hostilities. At last, notwithstanding all our wishes to maintain peace, we witnessed an incessant repetition of open outrages, which compelled us to arm and to assemble our troops; though still, while we could flatter ourselves with the hope of reconciliation, we remained within the confines of our empire, and without violating peace, were prepared for defence. All these moderate and pacific measures could not secure to us the tranquillity of which we were desirous. The French emperor, by an attack upon our troops at Kowna, has already commenced war; consequently, nothing further remains for us, but, while we invoke the aid of the Sovereign of the universe, the Author and Defender of truth, to place our force in opposition to the force of the enemy. It is unnecessary to remind our generals, our chiefs and warriors, of their duty and of their valour; in their veins flows the blood of the Sclavonians, so highly renowned of old for their victories. Soldiers! you are the defenders of your religion, your country, and your independence. I am with you. God is on your side."

On the 22d of April, the emperor of Russia quitted St. Petersburg, took the command of his army, and moved his head quarters to Wilna. Early in May, the first corps, under Davoust, arrived on the Vistula, at Elbing and Marienburg: the second corps under Oudinot, at Marienwerder; the third corps, under Ney, at Thorn; the fourth and sixth, under Beauharnois, at Plock; the fifth corps, under Poniatowsky, assembled at Warsaw; the eighth corps, under Junot, on the right of Warsaw; the seventh corps, under Victor, at Pulawy; the ninth and eleventh, between the Elbe and the Oder, under the joint command of marshals Augereau and

Victor ; and the tenth, the Prussian contingent, at Riga and Dinabourg, under Macdonald ; Murat had the command of the cavalry ; Lefevre of the old, and Mortier of the new guards ; altogether forming a force of upwards of four hundred thousand men.

Bonaparte was on the Vistula on the 6th of June, and availed himself of his immense force and imposing situation, to compel the king of Prussia to join in a treaty of alliance ; and shortly after passed the borders of the Russian empire ; upon which event the emperor Alexander issued the following proclamation :

“The French troops have passed the borders of our empire ; a completely treacherous attack is the reward of the observance of our alliance. For the preservation of peace I have exhausted every possible means, consistently with the honour of my throne, and the advantage of my people. All my endeavours have been in vain. The emperor Napoleon has fully resolved in his own mind to ruin Russia. The most moderate proposals on our part have remained without answer. This sudden surprise has shewn in an unequivocal manner, the groundlessness of his pacific promises, which he lately repeated. There therefore remain no further steps for me to take, but to have recourse to arms, and to employ all the means that have been granted me by Providence, to use force against force. I place full confidence in the zeal of my people, and the bravery of my troops. As they are threatened in the midst of their families, they will defend them with their national bravery and energy. Providence will crown with success our just cause. The defence of our native country, the maintenance of our independence and national honour, have compelled us to have recourse to arms. I will not sheath my sword so long as there is a single enemy within my imperial borders.”

In pursuance of the system of retreat and protracted warfare, which had been determined upon by the emperor Alexander, Wilna, his headquarters, was evacuated, and its magazines destroyed. Bonaparte entered this place on the 28th June.

The Russian armies continued to fall back and concentrate themselves. Bonaparte was therefore compelled to alter his first dispositions, which harassed his armies by useless marches. The headquarters were at length established at a fortified camp at Drissa, from whence the emperor issued several animating general orders.

On the Russian army breaking up from the Drissa, the emperor Alexander issued the following proclamation :

“ Beloved subjects ! In pursuance of the policy advised by our military council, the armies will, for the present, quit their positions, and retire farther into the interior, in order the more readily to unite. The enemy may possibly avail himself of this opportunity to advance ; he has announced this intention. Doubtless, in spite of his boast, he begins to feel all the difficulties of his menaced attempts to subjugate us, and is anxious, therefore to engage ; he is desperate, and would therefore put every thing upon the issue of a battle. The honour of our crown, the interests of our subjects, prescribe, however, a different policy : it is necessary that he should be made sensible of the madness of his attempt. If, urged by the desire of obtaining provisions and forage, or goaded by an insatiable cupidity for plunder, he should be blind to the danger of farther committing himself at such an immense distance from his territories, it would become the duty of every loyal Russian, every true friend of his country, to co-operate cheerfully with us, in impeding equally his progress, or his retreat, by destroying his supplies, his means of conveyance, in short, eve-

ry thing which can be serviceable to him. We, therefore, order that such of our subjects in the provinces of Vitepsk and Pskoy, as may have articles of subsistence, either for man or beast, beyond their immediate want, to deliver them to officers authorized to receive them, and for which they shall be paid the full value out of the imperial treasury. The owners of growing crops within the distance of the line of the enemy's march, are commanded to destroy them, and they shall be reimbursed their loss. The proprietors of magazines, either of provisions or clothing, are required to deliver them to the commissaries for the use of the army, and they will be liberally remunerated. In general, the spirit of this order is to be carried into execution in regard to all articles, whether of subsistence, of clothing, or of conveyance, which may be considered useful to the invaders; and the magistrates are made responsible for the due fulfilment of these our commands.

“ALEXANDER.”

On the 23d of July, the advanced guard of the Russian army, commanded by prince Bagration, reached Daschkova, where it was attacked by marshals Davoust and Mortier, with five divisions of the French army. Notwithstanding the great numerical superiority of the enemy, the Russian troops repulsed them twice, and pushed them as far as the village of Nowossilka: here the battle was continued, and lasted from nine in the morning until six in the evening. The loss of the French exceeded five thousand men; that of the Russians amounted to nearly three thousand.

The emperor Alexander was now at Polotzk, ordering the formation of battalions of reserve in the interior of the empire, and calling upon the Russians to raise *en masse*, for the defence of their country,

After the defeat of Davoust, the following ukase was issued :—

“ The enemy has entered our territories, and continues to carry arms into the interior of Russia, hoping with his strength and his wrath to disturb the tranquillity of this mighty empire. He has formed in his mind the base determination to destroy the glory and prosperity of our country. With cunning in his heart, and deceit on his lips, he is bringing everlasting chains and fetters into it. We have called on the Almighty for assistance, and have appealed to him for our defence. Our armies glow with valour to crush him, to defeat him, and to drive from the face of our country, all those who remain undestroyed. On their fortitude and strength we place our firmest hopes ; but we neither can nor ought to conceal from our loyal subjects, that the forces of the different nations he has assembled are great, and that his temerity demands our most vigilant and resolute exertions. With all the strong hopes we place in our gallant army, we therefore deem it a matter of absolute necessity to assemble new forces in the interior of the empire, which, striking the enemy anew with terror, will form a second barrier, in support of the first, to defend the homes, the wives and children, of every one and all. We have called on our metropolis of Moscow, and we now call on our loyal subjects of all classes and ranks, both ecclesiastical and civil ; recommending them, together with us, individually and generally, to rise and co-operate against all hostile designs and attempts. At every step shall he find the loyal sons of Russia combating them with all their strength and all their means, without attending to his wiles and deceit. In every nobleman shall he find a Pojarskoi ; in every ecclesiastic, a Palitzin, in every citizen, a Minin. Most eminent nobility of Russia ! it is ye that at all times have been the

saviours of your country. Most holy synod and clergy ! ye have always, with your fervent prayers called down blessings on your country.

“ People of Russia ! ye valiant descendants of the brave Sclavonians, how often have ye dashed the teeth of lions and tigers that were rushing upon you. With the cross in your heart, and the sword in your hand, no martial force can vanquish you.

“ For the first formation of the before mentioned forces, it is proposed to the nobility, in all the governments, to assemble the men they intend for the defence of the country, choosing officers from among themselves, and giving information of their number to Moscow, where a commander-in-chief will be appointed.

“ Camp, near Polotzk, July 6, (13) 1812.”

The appeals of the emperor Alexander to the loyalty of the people had an admirable effect : all ranks throughout the vast empire of Russia appeared to have imbibed an enthusiastic spirit of patriotism ; and offers of assistance in raising levies and money were made to Alexander, from every quarter of his dominions. The people of Moscow proposed to raise and equip 80,000 men ; the government of Smolenzk, 20,000 ; and the government of Kaluga, 23,000 men, cavalry and infantry : the emperors sister also, expressed her desire to raise a regiment on her estates ; whilst the nobility and peasantry of Russia all flocked to join the standard of the emperor.

*The following letter was written by her imperial highness, the grand princess Catharine Pavlovna, (sister to the emperor) to the minister of the home department.*

“ *Dmitrije Alexandrowitch,*

“ At a time when every Russian subject is inspired with love for their native country, and devotion



for its monarch, which has awakened their ardour for the greatest sacrifices—at a time when, to repulse the enemy and preserve the general safety, it is necessary to make great sacrifices and use every exertion—I have not been able to repel the feelings of my heart, in taking an active part in furnishing the means of supply for our warlike preparations. After having applied to his imperial majesty, my beloved lord and brother, for his approbation and permission, I have to turn to you, and through your assistance carry into effect a purpose I have conceived, from the most unbounded zeal for the honour and welfare of my beloved country, and for the most affectionate love for its monarch. It is my wish to raise, on my hereditary estates, a certain number of warriors, (1200) to whom separate regulations will be given by me, and whom I will arm and maintain at my own expense. I have not the least doubt, but that, according to the instructions you will cause to be given, this conscription will be performed with the greatest success; and that those who shall be selected for the defence of their religion and country, will, by their distinguished zeal, soon become equal to older warriors. I remain your's, sincerely,

EKATERINA."

*The Emperor Alexander's answer in his own hand writing.*

"I receive this proposal with the most grateful thanks,

(Signed) "ALEXANDER."

Prince Bagration, having continued his march in the direction of Smolenzk, where he joined the grand army, the French obtained possession of Mohiloff. The vicinity of Polotzk was also, about this time, the scene of severe contest. Marshal Oudinot having crossed the Duna, with a view, it is supposed, of coming round upon Riga, was attacked

by general Witgenstein, on the 17th of August, and a most murderous affair ensued. In point of numbers, the Russians were greatly inferior; yet the fortune of the day was their's. They pursued the enemy even to the town and continued the battle in the streets, until the darkness of the night put an end to it. In this engagement, Oudinot received a severe wound in his shoulder; and the command of his army was entrusted to Gouvion de St. Cyr. The loss of the enemy was not less than 7000 killed and wounded, and 2600 prisoners; that of the Russians comparatively trifling.

Notwithstanding these, and many other smaller instances of success, attending the Russian armies whenever a stand was made, still the system of protracted warfare was judged to be the most conducive to the ultimate destruction of the invaders.

The following proclamation of the emperor Alexander, published in general orders, by the commander in chief, general Benningsen, displays the steady policy of Russia to continue retiring, and even to give up Moscow, rather than hazard a general engagement, except upon very favourable terms.

“Russians! the enemy has quitted the Dwina, and has proclaimed his intention of offering battle. He accuses you of timidity, because he mistakes, or affects to mistake, the policy of your system. Can he, then, have forgotten the chastisement which your valour inflicted at Dinabourg and Mire; wherever, in short, it has been deemed proper to oppose him? Desperate counsels are alone compatible with the enterprise he has undertaken, and the dangers of his situation: but shall we, therefore, be imprudent, and forego the advantages of our own? He would march to Moscow—let him. But can he, by the temporary possession of that city, conquer the empire of Russia, and subjugate a population of thirty millions? Distant from his resources nearly

800 miles, he would, even if victorious, not escape the fate of the warrior Charles XII. When pressed on every side by hostile armies, with a peasantry sworn to his destruction, rendered furious by his excesses, and irreconcilable by difference of religion, of customs, of language, how would he retreat ?

“Russians ! rely on your emperor, and the commanders whom he has appointed. He knows the ardent and indignant valour which burns in the bosoms of his soldiers, at the boast of the enemy. He knows that they are eager for battle, that they grieve at its being deferred, and at the thought of retiring. This cruel necessity will not exist long. Even now the period of its duration lessens. Already are our allies preparing to menace the rear of the invader ; while he, inveigled too far to retreat with impunity, shall soon have to combat with the seasons, with famine, and with innumerable armies of Russians. Soldiers ! when the period for offering battle arrives, your emperor will give the signal, will be an eye-witness of your exploits, and reward your valour.”

On the 17th of August, at one in the afternoon, the enemy attacked the troops of the first Russian army, which were drawn up on the road from Krasnoy, and other points round Smolenzk, for the purpose of covering the march of the second army to Dorogabouche. After an engagement which continued without intermission for three hours, the French were repulsed at every point. They then brought a strong column of their forces, and an uncommonly numerous artillery, with which they attacked the city in every direction ; but all their efforts and endeavours were in vain, although they drove back the Russian advance troops even to the ruins of the walls of Smolenzk, and appeared determined to storm the city. The Russians lost 4000 killed and

wounded ; the French suffered in a much greater proportion.

On the night of the 17th, a dreadful conflagration broke out in the town ; and, after midnight, it was abandoned by the Russians, who retired across the river. It was occupied on the 18th by the invaders, who at length succeeded in extinguishing the fire.

On the 19th, the French, crossing the Dnieper, made an attack on the Russian rear-guard, the last column of which retreated to the second army, which was posted on the heights of Valentina. An action was brought on, to force this position, in which a considerable number of troops was engaged on each side ; it terminated in the unmolested retreat of the Russians, according to their plan.

. At the commencement of the invasion of Russia, it appeared to have been the design of the French emperor to make a push at once for Petersburg, probably supposing that the imminent danger or capture of this metropolis, would terminate the war. But the plan pursued by the Russian commanders, to draw the principal force of their antagonists towards the Dnieper, necessarily changed that of the invader, whose object now became the possession of the ancient capital of the empire, Moscow, to which Smolenzk is in the direct road, and at a less distance from it than from Wilna. It was therefore particularly necessary for the further progress of the invading army, that it should occupy the last mentioned city.

On the 29th general Caulincourt entered Viasma, a considerable town on the Moscow road ; and the Russians had taken a strong position at the village of Moskwa, between Ghijat and Mojaisk.

The emperor Alexander having at this period, concluded a peace with Turkey, he was induced to appoint general Barclay de Tolly to the manage-

ment of the war department, and general Kutusoff to be commander-in-chief of all his armies.

General Kutusoff arrived at the head quarters, at Zarevo-Zalomitchi, on the 29th of August. He found the first and second armies retreating upon Gchatz, after having abandoned Viasma, to which they had set fire. The retreat was continued, in order to obtain a more favourable situation for offensive measures, and to give time for the junction of the reserves, commanded by general Miloradovitch, and the militia of the government of Moscow, under the orders of lieutenant-general count Markoff, at Mojaïsk.

General Kutusoff determined to wait for the enemy at Borodino, situated twelve wersts in advance of Mojaïsk.

At day-break, on the 7th of September, the French made an attack on the whole Russian position; and the battle lasted from seven o'clock in the morning until ten at night, with an unexampled obstinacy. The French, commanded by Bonaparte in person, were repulsed at all points, and compelled to retire, in the beginning of the night, leaving the Russians masters of the field of battle. In this sanguinary combat, the prince of Bagration, commander-in-chief of the second army, received a severe wound, which shattered to pieces his left leg. He was afterwards removed to Moscow; and, at the approach of the enemy, the governor Rostopschin, had him conveyed with the sick and wounded from that city, when he died on the road. He was an amiable and meritorious officer.

The loss of the enemy in this battle amounted to killed, wounded and taken prisoners, to 50,000 men. Marshal Davoust was wounded; the general of brigade, Bonami, made prisoner; and generals Caulincourt and Montbrun killed. That of the Russians, to 32,000; besides the prince Bagration, the

major-general count Woronzoff, lieutenant general Tutchkoff, prince Gorschakof, and Konovnizin, the major-generals Backmetef, Rearsky, and Kretoff, were among the wounded.

The following is an epitome of what was considered the most correct account of the battle of Borodino, as circulated at St. Petersburg, which, we think, cannot but be interesting to our readers, when it is recollected, that this battle immediately preceded the capture of Moscow by the French, from which may be dated the commencement of Napoleon's overthrow.

"The Russian army continued its retreat upon the village of Borodino, between Mojaisk and Ghjatsk, on the high Moscow road. It was here reinforced by 13,000 effective men, under general Miloradovitch, and 21,000 militia, chiefly armed with pikes, under general Markoff. The total number of the Russian army, exclusive of militia, amounted to 105,000 effective men; the French army amounted to 130,000, reinforcements having been drawn to it from the military posts occupied by the enemy.

"Bonaparte, contrary to all expectation, as he had omitted the favourable moment for attacking the Russians on their march from Smolenzk to re-pass the Dnieper, presented his army in order of battle, on the 5th of September. It is possible, that the appointment of prince Kutusoff had baffled his hope of peace; and that he found himself now obliged to effect that by force, which he was in hopes to have obtained by the influence of fear on the Russian cabinet. Certain it is, that he himself regretted his former neglect of opportunity, and that he said, 'I have lost one of the most brilliant occasions of my life.'

"Prince Bagration's army sustained the Russian left, but it was very much advanced in front of the centre and right. A battery of seven guns on a hill

covered the advance of prince Bagration's army, which I shall in future call the second army.

“ The action was begun about two o'clock in the afternoon of the 6th of September, and was furiously fought on both sides until near dark, when the enemy possessed himself of the hill and battery and obliged the second army to retire, and take up his position in alignment with the first army, keeping some hills in its front, on which batteries were erected. On the morning of the 7th, the French, with all their force, again fell upon prince Bagration; after a desperate resistance, broke in upon him, obliged him to retreat in some disorder; and the reserves of the first army were under the necessity of moving to the left and front, to cover his works, and oppose the enemy, which service was effectually executed; and the second army being rallied again, advanced into battle, and in its turn supported the troops that had covered it. The Russian line was, however, obliged to throw back its left a little, so as to form an angle with a part of the centre and right. At the salient point of this angle was a battery, which, if taken and kept by the enemy, would have commanded the whole Russian position and obliged a retreat. Bonaparte finding that the Russians remained steady, notwithstanding the tremendous artillery cross-fire, resolved to have this work carried. Various attempts were made during the day, by the cavalry and infantry; but they were always repulsed. Towards nine o'clock in the morning, general Bonami had, however, lodged himself in the battery, in front of the Russian left; but general Gormouloff, seizing the command of a column (for he was a staff-officer), rushed upon the battery, re-carried it, and put every man in it to the bayonet, except general Bonami, who fairly escaped with twenty wounds, one of which struck into his breast. Towards dusk the enemy's force retired,

abandoning the battery, which he had again carried about four o'clock in the afternoon, and which battery had been taken and retaken three times during the day. He gradually withdrew back upon some works in his rear, out of cannon-shot, and from thence fell back about two wersts and a half with his main body, giving orders for his heavy guns, &c. to retire upon Mojaïsk. The Russian army remained upon the field until the next evening, whence prince Kutusoff fell back three wersts with his main body, and left general Platoff with his Cossacks to occupy the ground in front of Borodino.

“Thus terminated, in the field, the memorable battle of Borodino; and so far it resembled the battle of Preuss Eylau—but not in its consequences; for Eylau preserved Königsberg, whereas Borodino accelerated the loss of Moscow. I am, however, inclined to think that Borodino, theoretically, was in the field a more decisive victory than Eylau, as the Russians there quitted the ground during the same night, whereas, at Borodino, it was the enemy who withdrew.

“It, however, greatly differed from Eylau in its progress: for Borodino was a battle on points; Eylau was a parade battle, general throughout the line, and covering every man in the field with its iron canopy. The Russians had more than 600 guns in the field, but the fire was sustained by about 268 pieces.

“The loss at Borodino to the Russian army was, perhaps severe; as it now appears, that 25,000 were killed or wounded (at least one half killed) and above 1500 officers, of whom three generals were killed and nine wounded.

“The loss of the enemy could not but be far greater; calculation so far could not err: but it now appears, from their own correspondence, that they estimate their loss at twenty-six generals *hors*



*de combat*, (of whom seven were killed,) and 35,000 men."

The distinguished veteran prince Kutusoff was now appointed field-marshal, with a grant of 100,000 roubles. His imperial majesty also ordered five roubles to be given to each soldier who had a share in this memorable battle.

The Russian general found it necessary to retire a short distance on the Moscow road, and proposed to make a stand within two or three wersts of Moscow: the position chosen, however, was judged unfavourable. He therefore continued his retreat to a strong position near Podolsk and Wakadesk, twenty miles beyond Moscow, leaving the enemy to enter the city, which was done by his advanced guard on the 14th of October.

Previous to the entrance of the enemy, all the valuables and property were removed from the city; the magazines, stores, &c. set fire to; and that the latter object might be successfully accomplished, every fire engine was removed. The governor Rostopschin had concerted these measures with the Russian commander-in-chief, and persuaded forty thousand of the inhabitants to follow him to the army. The others fled in all directions, and few remained to witness the entry of the French, who committed the greatest barbarities.

Very shortly after the entry of the French, a general conflagration spread through the city, and a scene of horror commenced, difficult to conceive, and impossible to describe. There are various opinions with respect to the origin of the fire. It has been asserted by those assuming authority for their information, that the governor Rostopschin, from patriotic motives, gave orders to set the city on fire, to prevent the enemy finding a shelter in it during the winter, and being able to obtain terms from the emperor for its deliverance. Prince Ku-

tusoff, in his conversation with Lauriston, which will be presently detailed, satisfactorily repels the charge.

Two residences in Moscow belonging to Rostopschin, were destroyed; yet this true patriot, on the approach of the enemy, set fire with his own hands to his country seat at Varonavo, to prevent their gaining possession of it. This was a most superb mansion, on which its possessor had laid out immense sums of money. The following letter was written, and left by him on the occasion.

"I have for eight years established this country house, and I have lived happily in it, in the bosom of my family. The inhabitants of the estate to the number of 1720 quit it at your approach; and I set fire to my house, that it may not be polluted by your presence. Frenchmen, I have abandoned to you my two Moscow houses with furniture, worth half a million of roubles; here you will only find ashes.

"COUNT FEDOR ROSTOPSCHIN."

It may not be uninteresting to our readers to have the following short account of the destroyed city.

"The circumference of Moscow, taken without the ramparts, is somewhat more than twenty-six miles. The city is distributed into five divisions; the Kremlin, Khitaigorod, Bielgorod, Semlainogorod, and Sloboda. The first named division, the Kremlin, is an assemblage of wonders; it is surrounded by walls, towers and ramparts, on all sides, and is filled with domes and steeples; the edifices within its bounds are all constructed with such strange irregularity, that the appearance differs in every direction; but the view from its heights of the city much surpasses any other, both for splendour and singularity, and that from the tower of St. Ivan surpasses all. The Kremlin is entered through

an arched portal painted red, and called the holy gate: and no person of any rank or description, may be permitted to pass this entrance unless uncovered; so much of superstitious reverence is paid to it, on account of a favourite Russian saint whose picture is suspended there, and who, tradition affirms, did, like another Pan, strike terror into an invading army of Poles, who had possession of the city, and were on the point of forcing this portal. The great bell of Moscow, the largest in the world, lies in a deep pit in the midst of the Kremlin. It was founded by order of the empress Ann, as an act of piety, and was never suspended. Dr. Clarke describes it very accurately, and agrees nearly with the account given by Jonas Hanway of its dimensions. The ancient palace of the Czars is within these ramparts, remarkable for being the birth place of Peter the great; the scene of the murders committed by the Strelitzes, in the well known conspiracy during the minority of Peter; the butchery of John Nariskin; and the fall of Demetrius. There is also here a gun of immense calibre, supposed to be cast in 1604. The Russians are extremely jealous of strangers examining this prodigious piece of artillery: the dimensions cannot, therefore be given with any exactness; it is ascertained, however, that its lip is ten inches thick, and it will admit a man of middle stature sitting upright within its mouth. The treasury and regalia are here, and also the crowns of conquered provinces, viz. Casan, Siberia, Astracan, and the Crimea. In the palace are shewn several articles, valuable only from their antiquity, and some trifling specimens in natural curiosity; but what most attracts the wonder and attention of strangers, is the famous model of the Kremlin, planned under the auspices of Catharine the second, which would have been, if completed, the miracle of the universe. Some accident hap-

pening to retard the erection, determined that magnificent princess to relinquish the undertaking. Had the work been completed, it would have exceeded in costliness, magnificence and beauty, the temple of Solomon, the propylæum of Amasis, the villo of Adrian, or the forum of Trajan. There is nothing in Europe like the various exhibitions presented to the eye in this extraordinary quarter of Moscow—Indian, Chinese, Gothic, Tartarian, richness, elegance, barbarism, decay! in short, it is an assemblage of wonders, and perhaps forms the most novel and interesting *coup d'œil* in the universe. The patriarch's palace, the cathedral with seven towers, two convents, several churches, and the arsenal, are within the Kremlin.

“The Khitaigorod, or second division, is much larger than the Kremlin, containing the university, the printing-house, and many other public edifices; in this quarter are the shops of the tradesmen. There is a street in this division in which the houses are built adjoining each other, and the only one in Moscow of this description: the houses are, in general, white-washed, or stuccoed.

“The Bielgorod, or White-Town, encircles the two preceding divisions, and takes its name from a white wall, by which it was once surrounded. There is nothing worthy of remark in this portion of Moscow.

“The Semlainogorod environs all the other three divisions, and is encompassed by a circular rampart of earth. The last two divisions are composed of a strange assemblage of contrasted objects, which altogether form a grotesque appearance—churches, palaces, convents, wooden houses, and wretched hovels.

“The Sloboda, or suburbs, form a vast circle round the whole of the divisions already described, and are invested by a ditch and low rampart. The

Sloboda contains, besides buildings of every description, delightful gardens, rich pastures, orchards abounding with fruit, and waving corn-fields. These luxuriant lands are watered by several small and beautiful lakes, which give rise to the Neglinna river; the Moskva, from which this various city takes its name, flows through it in a winding channel, navigable only in spring, except for small boats or rafts.

“The streets of Moscow are, in general, long and wide; some of them are paved, but the greater number formed by laying trunks of trees across, and others are boarded like the floor of a room. There are fifteen hundred places of worship in Moscow, including chapels; the greater part of which are of wood, painted red, with domes of copper or tin, gilt or painted green: they are all richly ornamented within, and the relics, pictures, and statues of saints and martyrs, are decorated with gold, silver and diamonds. The cathedral of St. Michael contains the bodies of several of the sovereigns of Russia; and in that of the assumption of the Virgin, the ceremony of coronation is performed. There is an hospital for foundlings, which will maintain 8000, founded by Catharine the second. The palace of Petroffsky, the modern royal residence of Moscow, is situated two miles from the city; it bears, at first view, a magnificent appearance, but, on a near approach, is found deficient in that lightness and elegance, without which no architectural beauties can be perfect. It is the most populous city in the vast empire of the Autocrat, containing 250,000 inhabitants; and is the centre of the inland commerce of Europe and Asia.”

The emperor Alexander was not intimidated by the fall of Moscow; on the contrary, it produced in him a more fixed determination to persevere, and refuse every overture to negotiate, either direct or

indirect. In the animating proclamation which he issued on the occasion, he observes, "when the oppressed could look to us for an example and a stimulus, shall we shrink from the high commission? No; we bow before the hand that anoints us to be the leaders of the nations in the cause of freedom and virtue."

In the hope of being able to open a negotiation for peace, Bonaparte, shortly after his entrance into Moscow, dispatched general Lauriston to the prince Kutusoff, when the following singular conference took place.

Lauriston was received by the Russian commander-in chief in the midst of all his generals. He opened the conference, by saying, that he had been sent to demand an armistice, and to beg the prince to transmit to his majesty a letter from Bonaparte, which would contain proposals for peace, in order to cause the cessation of that horrible effusion of blood, which had been shed with so much desperation and barbarity.

The prince replied that he was not authorized to receive any proposal, either for peace or armistice, and that most certainly he would not receive any letter addressed to his majesty; that, besides, it was his duty to declare, that the Russian army was in possession of too many advantages to throw them away by an armistice, of which it had no need.

Lauriston observed, that the war must one day come to a termination, for it could not last forever, especially in the barbarous manner in which it was conducted.

Prince Kutusoff replied, that barbarism had been introduced into hostilities by the French revolutionists, and followed up to the greatest extent by Bonaparte himself. It was true, that the war could not be eternal; but peace could never be talked of till the French were beyond the Vistula. That Rus-

sia had not provoked the war; for the emperor, by falling with all his forces on the magazines and troops in Poland, might have annihilated all the preparations of Bonaparte on the other side of the Vistula, before he was in readiness to commence it; but his majesty wished neither to disturb the existing tranquillity, nor to be the aggressor, and, to the last, hoped to preserve peace. That Bonaparte had entered Russia, even without a declaration of war, and devastated a great part of the empire; that he had nothing to do, but to get out of Moscow how he could, since he came thither without being invited; while, on our side, it became an act of duty, to do him as much mischief as possible. That when he proclaimed the campaign terminated at Moscow, the Russians viewed it as only commencing; if he did not know this already, he should soon be taught it by experience.

*Lauriston.* Since then there is no hope of peace, it will doubtless be necessary to march; but in departing, it will be again necessary to shed the blood of men, who are always brave, *since your armies are marching on all sides.*

“I again repeat to you,” replied the prince, “you of course will adopt such measures as you can in order to get off; and we, to prevent you. For the rest, the time will come, perhaps, when *we* may arrange matters for your departure, should that be the only subject of discussion.”

Lauriston still complained of the bitterness and fury which had been excited in the people, in order to banish all hope of accommodation, by attributing to the French the burning and ruin of Moscow, while the inhabitants themselves were the authors of that calamity.

The prince replied, that it was the first time he had ever heard of complaint being made against the enthusiasm and devotion to their country of a whole

people, who defended their homes against an enemy by whom they were attacked, and who by so doing had excited that animosity and fury now complained of, but which, on the contrary, could not be too much extolled and appreciated. "With regard to the burning of Moscow," said the prince, "I am too old, I have had too much experience in war, and possessed too much of the confidence of the Russian people, not to be daily and hourly informed of what was passing in Moscow. I myself ordered the destruction of some magazines; but, from the arrival of the French at Moscow, the Russians destroyed nothing but the stores of the cart-wrights, when you adopted the resolution of seizing them, by distributing the carriages at your pleasure. The inhabitants caused very few conflagrations; you proceeded systematically in the destruction of the capital; fixing the particular days, and marking out the quarters which were to be set on fire at fixed periods. I have had an exact account of the whole—it has been followed with precision: and one proof that it was not the inhabitants who ruined Moscow, is, that you destroyed with cannon-shot the houses and other edifices built with too much solidity, hurling balls against them amidst the flames. Undoubtedly we shall endeavour to revenge ourselves.—Our conference is ended.

*The following is stated to be the sketch of a conversation between Murat and general Miloradovitch, which took place at the advanced posts of the Russian and French armies, on the 11th October, 1812.*

*Murat.* Are you informed, general, of the excesses committed by your Cossacks? They fire upon the foragers whom I send out in different directions; even your peasants, supported by them, massacre our insulated hussars.



*Miloradovitch.* I am delighted that the Cossacks strictly obey the orders given them. It is also most satisfactory for me to learn from your majesty's mouth, that our peasants shew themselves worthy the name of Russians.

*Murat.* It is contrary to all the hitherto received rules of war; and from this harsh state of things, I shall be compelled to send out columns to the right and left, to protect the foragers.

*Miloradovitch.* So much the better, sire: my officers complain of having been three weeks in inaction; they burn with impatience to take cannon, colours——

*Murat.* But why seek to embitter two nations formed to esteem each other in so many respects?

*Miloradovitch.* My officers and myself are ready to give you all possible marks of our esteem; but sire, your foragers will always be taken, and the columns which you may send to the right and left to protect, shall be beaten.

*Murat.* You are passionate in words, general, but words do not beat an enemy. Cast your eye on the map; you will then see the country we have conquered, and how far we have penetrated.

*Miloradovitch.* Charles XII. penetrated still farther; he reached Pultowa.

*Murat.* The French army has been constantly victorious.

*Miloradovitch.* But we never fought, except at Borodino.

*Murat.* That victory opened to us the gates of Moscow.

*Miloradovitch.* I beg your pardon, sire; Moscow was abandoned to you

*Murat.* At any rate, we are masters of your ancient and immense capital.

*Miloradovitch.* Yes, sire; and it is an afflicting thought to every Russian—to myself in particular:

I did every thing for the salvation of Moscow. Russia has made to you an immense sacrifice; but she already begins to derive the advantages attached to it.

*Murat.* How?

*Miloradovitch.* I perceive that Napoleon has sent Lauriston to our general-in-chief, to treat of peace. I know your soldiers are reduced to satisfy themselves for sixty hours with what is scarcely sufficient to support a man for twenty-four.

*Murat.* The passports sent to you were a farce.

*Miloradovitch (continuing).* I see that the king of Naples has come to general Miloradovitch to beg quarter for his foragers, and to set on foot a sort of negociation to calm the soldiers.

*Murat (piqued).* My visit was purely accidental; and I meant only to inform you of abuses committed by your troops. Want of discipline is a great misfortune to an army; it has often been its ruin.

*Miloradovitch.* But in that case you ought rather to encourage it. Precious want of discipline! which makes us shoot the French foragers.

*Murat.* You greatly deceive yourself with regard to our position. Moscow is abundantly supplied with every thing: we expect immense reinforcements, which are already on the road.

*Miloradovitch (laughing).* Do you, then, think us farther removed from our reinforcements than you are from yours?

*Murat.* I have also to complain on a very essential point; I appeal, general, to your justice, and your sense of equity. You have twice fired on our flags of truce.

*Miloradovitch.* Sire, we want not to hear of parleys; we want to fight, and not to negotiate. Take your measures accordingly.

*Murat.* What ! at that rate I am not safe even here.

*Miloradovitch.* You would run a risk, sire, by coming a second time ; but, to-day, I shall have the honour of accompanying you myself as far as the videttes.

The general then called for his horse ; and Murat, struck with what had passed, observed, that he had never heard of such a mode of making war. The general replied, he must have heard of it in Spain ; and this unexpected retort induced Murat to change the conversation, and politely ask the general where he had first served in that capacity ?

*Miloradovitch.* Surely France must still recollect the campaign of Suvaroff, in Italy. I had the honour there often to command the advanced guard of the generalissimo.

Murat and the general then separated, after shortly conversing about prince Bagration.

In the following report, prince Kutusoff explains to the emperor the circumstances which compelled him to abandon Moscow :

“ After the sanguinary, though victorious battle, fought by your majesty’s troops on the 26th of August, (7th September) I was obliged to leave my position near Borodino, for reasons which I already have had the happiness to inform your majesty. After that battle, the armies were much weakened ; under such circumstances, we approached Moscow, having daily much fighting with the enemy’s advanced guard. The reinforcements which I hoped to meet with had not yet arrived. The enemy formed two new columns, one on the Borafsk, and the other on the Zwenigorod roads, with a view of acting against my reserve near Moscow. In consequence of this, I could not risk another battle, the issue of which would not only have been destructive to the army, but would have reduced Moscow to ashes.

In this truly lamentable situation, and after consulting my generals, amongst whom there were some of a different opinion, I was compelled to let the enemy enter Moscow; out of which all the valuables, the stores in the arsenals, and almost all other property, imperial or private, were previously conveyed; and scarcely a single inhabitant remained in the town. I take the liberty most humbly to represent to your majesty, that the entrance of the enemy into Moscow, is not yet the annihilation of the empire. I am making a movement with my army towards the Toulâ road. This will enable me to keep open my communications with the neighbouring governments: any other measure would have prevented this, and also have separated me from the armies of Tormazoff and Tchichagoff. I must confess that the abandonment of the capital is very hard; but, considering the advantages which may accrue to us from it, and particularly the preservation of our armies, it is no longer to be lamented: and I now proceed to occupy with my forces a line by which I shall command the roads leading to Toulâ and Kalouga, annoy the whole line of the enemy extending from Smolenzk to Moscow, and be enabled to cut off all reinforcements marching to join him from the rear. By thus occupying the attention of the enemy, I hope to compel him to leave Moscow, and to change his whole line of operations.

“General Winzingerode has received orders from me to post himself on the Twer road, and to detach a regiment of Cossacks on that to Yaroslaff, to protect the inhabitants from being molested by small bodies of the enemy. I am at no great distance from Moscow; and, as soon as I have collected my troops, I can with confidence await the approach of the enemy. As long as the army of your imperial majesty is entire, and animated with its known courage and zeal, the loss of Moscow is not yet the

loss of the empire. For the rest, your majesty may be assured, that this event is the necessary consequence of the loss of Smolenzk."

On the 18th October, prince Kutusoff defeated the French under Murat, who, with 45,000 men, was advancing towards the south; and, on the following day, Bonaparte quitted Moscow, which on the 22d was re-entered by the Russians. On the expulsion of the enemy, the emperor Alexander issued the following proclamation :

"Russians! at length the enemy of our country, the foe of its independence and freedom, has experienced a portion of that terrible vengeance which his ambitious and unprincipled aggression had aroused. From the period of his march from Wilna, his armies, great in number, assured in valour and discipline, and elated at the remembrance of victories gained in other regions, threatened no less than the entire subjugation of the Russians. The system which we had thought fit to adopt strengthened that confidence. The sanguinary battles fought on his route, and which gave him temporary possession of Smolenzk, flattered him with all the illusions of victory. He reached Moscow, and he believed himself invincible and invulnerable. He now exulted in the idea of reaping the fruit of his toils; of obtaining for his soldiers comfortable winter quarters; and of sending out from thence, next spring, fresh forces to ravage and burn our cities, make captives of our countrymen, overthrow our laws and holy religion, and subject every thing to his lawless will. Vain presumptuous hope! Insolent, degrading menace! A population of forty millions, attached to their sovereign and country, and devoted to their religion and laws, the least brave man of whom is superior to his unwilling confederates and victims, cannot be conquered by a heterogeneous force, which he could muster, even of treble its late amount.

“Scarcely had he reached Moscow, and attempted to repose amidst its burning ruins, when he found himself encircled by the bayonets of our troops. He then, too late, discovered that the possession of Moscow was not the conquest of the empire; that his temerity had led him into a snare, and that he must choose between retreat or annihilation: he preferred the former, and behold the consequences.

“Russians! the Almighty has heard our wishes, and crowned your efforts with success. Every where the enemy is in motion; for disorderly movements betrayed his apprehensions; gladly would he compound for safety; but policy and justice alike demand the terrible infliction. The history of his daring must not be told without the terrible catastrophe by which it was attended. An hundred thousand men sacrificed to his frantic presumption, attest your valour and devotion to your country, and must deter him from a repetition of his impracticable design. Much, however, yet remains to be done, and that is in your power. Let the line of his retreat be rendered memorable by your honest indignation: destroy every thing which can be of service to him, and our commanders have orders to remunerate you; render your bridges, your roads, impassable; in fine, adopt and execute the suggestions of a brave, wise, and patriotic heart, and show yourselves deserving the thanks of your country and your sovereign.

“Should the remains of the enemy’s force escape to our imperial frontiers, and attempt to winter there, they must prepare to encounter all the rigours of the clime and season, and the valorous attacks of our troops. Thus harrassed, exhausted, and defeated, he shall forever be prevented from renewing his presumptuous attempt.”

The Russian people so well performed the directions of their magnanimous emperor, that it was not

only on the troops that the prince Kutusoff had to rely for the destruction of the enemy, who, in his retreat, was so incessantly impeded by their attacks, that it was not until the 9th of November, Bonaparte was able to reach Smolenzk.

Every day was signalized by some success. On the 3d of November the French were defeated at Viasma, by general Miloradovitch, supported by Platoff, with the loss of 6000 killed and wounded, and 2000 prisoners. On the 4th, the enemy were pursued beyond Viasma by the Cossacks, who brought in 1000 prisoners.

On the 7th, 8th and 9th of November, Beauharnois who commanded the fourth corps of the army, was attacked and defeated, with a total loss of all their artillery and ammunition, 3000 prisoners, and a still more considerable number in killed and wounded.

The losses the French were now daily sustaining, and the distress they were suffering in their retreat, drove them so completely to despair, that numbers surrendered themselves without resistance; others, incapable of further exertion laid down on the road side, and perished with cold, hunger and fatigue.

As we shall have hereafter occasion to describe many of the particular actions in which the future subjects of our memoirs were principally engaged in this wonderful campaign, we shall at present confine ourselves to the reports and proclamations of the commander-in-chief, prince Kutusoff, to illustrate its progress.

In the parole orders of the 10th November, issued by the prince to his army, is the following admirable paragraph:

“After these extraordinary great successes, which we daily and every where are gaining over the enemy, nothing more remains for us to do than to pur-

sue him rapidly; and then, perhaps, the Russian land, which he thought to subjugate, may be strued with his bones. Let us therefore pursue him, without giving him any rest. The winter, accompanied with frost and snow, is approaching; but what have you hardy children to fear from it? Your breasts of steel fear neither the severity of the weather, nor the malice of the enemy; they are the safe walls of your native country, against which all attempts must fail. You are likewise adequate to the support of any temporary wants, in case that such should take place. Good soldiers prove themselves such by fortitude and patience, of which the veterans set examples to the younger soldiers. May every one keep Suvaroff in remembrance: he taught how to bear hunger and frost, when a victory, or the glory of the Russian nation was in view. Let us go on: God is with us. Before us is the beaten enemy—and may peace and happiness be behind us!”

On the 15th of November, the emperor Alexander issued the following proclamation:

“It is well known to the whole world, in what manner the enemy had entered the boundaries of our empire. No step or means that have been resorted to, by the punctual fulfilment of peaceable stipulations, nor our steady endeavours by all possible means to avert the effects of a bloody and destructive war, have been able to check his obstinate design in which he has shown himself entirely immoveable. With peaceful promises on his tongue, he never ceased to think on war. At length, having collected a large army, and strengthened it with Austrian, Prussian, Bavarian, Wirtemberg, Westphalian, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and Polish regiments, who were constrained through disgrace and fear, he put himself in motion with this immense force, supplied with vast quantities of artillery, and



penetrated into the interior of our country. Murder, fire, and destruction, were his attendants on the march. The plundered property—the towns and villages set on fire—the smoking ruins of Moscow—the Kremlin blown up into the air—the temples and altars of the Lord destroyed—in one word, all kinds of cruelty and barbarity hitherto unheard of, at length prove by his own actions, that they have long been lying concealed in the depth of his mind. The mighty and happy Russian empire, which possesses every thing in abundance, awakened in the heart of the enemy, envy and dread. The possession of the whole world could not satisfy him, so long as the fertile fields of Russia still were happy. Full of this envy and internal hatred, he revolved, turned, and arranged in his mind, all manner of evil means by which he might give a dreadful blow to her power, a total confusion to her riches, and bring general destruction on her prosperity. He likewise thought by cunning and flattery, to shake the fidelity of our subjects; by the defilement of the sanctuaries, and of God's temples, to make religion unsteady and to strike the national sight with follies and extravagances. On these hopes he built his destructive plans, and with them he forced himself, like a pestilential and murderous tempest, in the heart of Russia.

“The whole world has fixed its attention on our suffering country, and inwardly moved, thought they saw, in the reflection of the flames of Moscow, the last day of the existence of our freedom and independence. But, great and mighty is the God of justice! the triumph of the enemy was of short duration. Pressed on all sides by our valiant armies and levies, he soon discovered that by his temerity he had ventured too far, and that he would not either by his valiant army, his seducements, or his cruelties, inspire fear into the loyal and valiant Russians,

nor save himself from destruction. After many fruitless endeavours, and now that he has seen numerous troops every where beaten and destroyed, he now with the small remains of them, seeks his personal safety in the rapidity of his flight. He flies from Moscow with as much fear and depression as he advanced against it with pride and insolence ; he flies, leaving his cannon behind him, throwing away his baggage, and sacrificing every thing that can retard the swiftness of his flight. Thousands of fugitives daily fall to the earth, and expire. In such manner does the just vengeance of God punish those who insult his temples. Whilst we, with paternal tenderness and joyful heart, observe the great and praise worthy actions of our faithful subjects, we carry our most warm and lively gratitude to the first cause of all good—the Almighty God ; and, in the next place, we have to express our thanks in the name of our common country, to all our loyal subjects, as the true sons of Russia. By their general energy and zeal, the force of the enemy is brought down to the lowest degree of decline ; for the greater part has either been annihilated or made prisoners. All have unanimously joined in the work. Our valiant armies have every where defeated the enemy. The higher nobility have distinguished themselves by sacrifices of all kinds. The loyal people, burghers, and peasantry, have given such proofs of fidelity and love for their country, as can only be expected of the Russian nation. They have zealously and voluntarily entered into the hastily raised levies, and have shown a courage and resolution equal to veteran warriors. They have, with the same force and intrepidity, penetrated the enemy's regiments, with the same implements with which they only a few weeks before turned up the fields. In this manner, the troops of levies sent from Petersburgh and Novogorod, for the strength-

ening of the forces under count Witgenstein, have behaved themselves, especially at Polotzk, and other places.

“We have, besides, and with heartfelt satisfaction, perceived, by the reports of the commander-in-chief of the armies, and from other generals, that in several engagements, and particularly in those of Moscow and Kalouga, the country people have armed themselves, chosen their own leaders, and not only resisted all attempts, at reducing them, but also sustained all the calamities that have befallen them, with the perseverance of martyrs. Often have they united themselves with our detachments, and assisted them in making their enterprises and attacks against the enemy. Many villagers have secreted their families and tender infants in the woods; and the inhabitants, with armed hand and inconceivable courage (under engagements on the holy gospel not to leave each other in danger), defended themselves, and whenever the enemy shewed himself have fallen upon him: so that many thousands of them have been cut to pieces and dispersed by the peasants, and even by their women; and numbers taken prisoners, who were indebted for their lives to the humanity of those very people whom they came to plunder and destroy.

“So high a purpose, and such invincible perseverance in the whole nation, does it immortal honour, worthy of being preserved in the minds of posterity. With the courage of such a nation, we entertain the most well-founded hopes; whilst we, jointly with the true church and the holy synod and clergy, supplicate God’s assistance, that if our inveterate enemy, and the mocker of God’s temple and holiness, should not be entirely and totally destroyed in Russia, yet that his deep wounds, and the blood it has cost him, will bring him to acknowledge her might and strength.

“Meanwhile, we hold it to be our bounden duty, by this general publication before the whole world, to express our gratitude to the valiant, loyal, and religious Russian nation ; and thereby render it due justice.”

On the 20th November, Bonaparte intended to proceed from Orcha to Minsk, where he hoped to arrive before the Russians. He, however, was continually harrassed on his right flank by count Kutusoff ; and, in the course of a week, lost nearly 6000 prisoners, and about the same number killed, by the enemy or the severity of the weather.

Upon reaching the Berezina his army was reduced to 60,000 men. He caused a bridge to be thrown over the river at Keubin, and crossed immediately. The horrors of this passage will ever be remembered by the French army. At its commencement numbers were drowned ; but, on the appearance of the Russian army, the confusion was beyond all description. The whole army pressed forward, without the least order : every thing was lost sight of but the wish to escape from the Russian army, whose batteries at length began to fire from the bridge and banks of the river, and stopped the further progress of the enemy. At a moderate computation, the French lost, in the passage of the Berezina, upwards of 20,000 men, killed, wounded, drowned and prisoners.

From the period of passing the Berezina to their arrival at Wilna on the 9th December, the French were incessantly pursued and attacked by admiral Tchichagoff's force ; and one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, upwards of seven hundred boxes of cartridges, and an immense number of baggage-waggons, were taken by the Russians. Two standards, some generals, and seven thousand prisoners, were also taken. The enemy's rear-guard was so much cut to pieces, that his flight was continued in

the utmost disorder, and without any defence. His men dropped down with faintness, and surrendered themselves in despair. The loss of the French amounted to 30,000 men; and the roads were covered with their killed and wounded, and men dying with cold.

On the 22d of December the emperor Alexander arrived at Wilna, which from its central situation, was particularly well adapted for his imperial majesty to direct the movements of the different armies, as circumstances might require.

The following is a statement of the captures made by the Russians, up to the 26th of December;—up to the 20th of December, were taken, 33 generals, nine hundred officers, 143,000 non-commissioned officers and soldiers, seven hundred and forty-six pieces of cannon; from the 20th to the 25th of December, one general, one hundred and fifty-six officers, nine thousand seven hundred and fifty-four non-commissioned officers and soldiers, one hundred and sixty-eight pieces of cannon. Besides, there were taken at Wilna, seven generals, two hundred and forty-two officers, fourteen thousand seven hundred and fifty-six non-commissioned officers and soldiers, two hundred and seventeen pieces of cannon.—TOTAL, forty-one generals, twelve hundred and ninety-eight officers, 167,510 non-commissioned officers and soldiers 1131 pieces of cannon.

The French were unremittingly pursued over the Prussian frontier, when the following declaration was issued by the Russian commander-in-chief:

“At the moment of my ordering the armies, under my command, to pass the Prussian frontier, the emperor my master, directs me to declare, that this step is to be considered, in no other light than as the inevitable consequence of the military operations.

“Faithful to the principles which have actuated his conduct at all times, his imperial majesty is guided by no view of conquest. The sentiments of moderation which have ever characterized his policy, are still the same, after the decisive successes with which Divine Providence has blessed his legitimate efforts. Peace and independence shall be their result. These his majesty offers, together with his assistance, to every people, who, being obliged to oppose him, shall abandon the cause of Napoleon, in order to follow that of their real interest. I invite them to take advantage of the fortunate opening which the Russian armies have produced, and to unite themselves with them in the pursuit of an enemy whose precipitate flight has discovered its loss of power. It is Prussia in particular to which this invitation is addressed. It is the intention of his imperial majesty to put an end to the calamities by which she is oppressed, to demonstrate to her king the friendship which he preserves for him, and to restore to the monarchy of Frederick, its *eclat* and its extent. He hopes that his Prussian majesty, animated by sentiments which this frank declaration ought to produce, will, under such circumstances, take that part alone, which the wishes of his people, and the interests of his dominions demand. Under this conviction, the emperor, my master, has sent me the most positive orders, to avoid every thing that could betray a spirit of hostility between the two powers, and to endeavour, within the Prussian provinces, to soften, so far as a state of war will permit, the evils which, for a short time, must result from their occupation.

(Signed)

“The marshal commander-in-chief  
of the armies,

“PRINCE KUTUSOFF SMOLENZK.”

## PROCLAMATION.

“When the emperor of all the Russias was compelled by a war of aggression, to take up arms for the defence of his dominions, his imperial majesty, from the accuracy of his combinations, was enabled to form an estimate of the important results which that war might produce with respect to the independence of Europe. The most heroic constancy, the greatest sacrifices, have led to a series of triumphs; and when the commander-in-chief, prince Kutusoff Smolenzk, led his victorious troops beyond the Niemen, the same principles still continued to animate the sovereign. At no period has Russia been accustomed to practice that art (too much resorted to in modern wars) of exaggerating by false statements, the success of her arms. But, with whatever modesty her details might now be penned, they would appear incredible. Ocular witnesses are necessary to prove the facts to France, to Germany, and to Italy, before the slow progress of truth will fill those countries with mourning and consternation. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive, that, in a campaign of only four months’ duration, one hundred and thirty thousand prisoners should have been taken from the enemy, besides nine hundred pieces of cannon, forty-nine stand of colours, and all the waggon-train and baggage of the army. A list of the names of all the generals taken is hereunto annexed. It will be easy to form an estimate from that list of the number of superior and subaltern officers taken. It is sufficient to say, that out of three hundred thousand men, (exclusive of Austrians) who penetrated into the heart of Russia, not thirty thousand of them, even if they should be favoured by fortune, will ever revisit their country. The manner in which the emperor Napoleon repassed the Russian frontier, can assuredly be no longer

a secret to Europe. So much glory, and so many advantages, cannot, however, change the personal dispositions of his majesty the emperor of all the Russias. The grand principles of the independence of Europe have always formed the basis of his policy; for that policy is fixed in his heart. It is beneath his character to permit any indeavours to be made to induce the people to resist the oppression and to throw off the yoke which has weighed them down for twenty years. It is their government whose eyes ought to be opened by the actual situation of France. Ages may elapse before an opportunity equally favourable again presents itself: it would be an abuse of the goodness of Providence, not to take advantage of this crisis to re-construct the great work of the equilibrium of Europe, and thereby to insure public tranquillity and individual happiness."

We must also insert the very interesting order of the day issued by the marshal general Kutusoff Smolenzk, to the troops, from Wilna, on the 2d January.

"Brave and victorious troops! you are at last upon the frontier of the empire. Each of you have been the preserver of the country: Russia has bestowed upon you this title. The rapid pursuit of the enemy, and the extraordinary difficulties that you have supported in this campaign, astonish all nations, and have acquired for you immortal glory. Such brilliant victories are without example. During two whole months, your hand has daily punished the miscreants.—The road that they have pursued is strewed with dead bodies. Their chief, in his flight, sought for his personal safety alone. Death has raged in their ranks: thousands fell together and perished. Thus has the wrath of the Almighty burst over them; and thus hath He protected his people.



“Not resting ourselves in the midst of our heroic actions, we must still proceed farther; we must pass our frontiers, and endeavour to accomplish the defeat of the enemy in the face of their allies. But we will not follow the example of their rage and frenzy, which disgrace the soldier. They have burnt our habitations, have violated our sanctuaries! but you have beheld in what manner the arm of the Almighty has punished their impiety. Let us be liberal, and make a distinction between the enemy and peaceable inhabitants! Justice and clemency towards the latter will manifest most certainly that we do not seek to enslave them, nor aspire to a vain glory; but that our object is to free from misery and destruction even those who have taken arms against Russia. The constant desire of his majesty the emperor is, that the tranquillity of the inhabitants be not disturbed, and that their property remain in perfect safety. At the same time that he makes known this his sacred desire, he firmly relies that each soldier will pay the utmost attention thereto, and that not one of them will dare to forget it: and I call upon the commanders of corps and divisions, in the name of his imperial majesty, in order that they may strictly adhere to this instruction.”

The emperor Alexander issued the following admirable proclamation on the 6th of January, at Wilna. The noble sentiments it contains cannot fail at all times to inspire an universal interest in the great character from whom they emanated.

“God and all the world are witnesses with what objects the enemy entered our dear country. Nothing could avert his obstinate and malevolent intentions. Proudly calculating on his own force, and on those which he had embodied against us from all the European powers, and hurried on by desire of conquest and thirst for blood, he hastened to pen-

etrate even into the bosom of our great empire, to spread amongst us the horrors and all the misery of a war of devastation, and to come upon us by surprise, but for which he had long been preparing. Having foreseen, by former proofs of his unmeasured ambition and the violence of his proceedings, what bitter sufferings he was about to inflict upon us, and seeing him already pass our frontiers with a fury which nothing could arrest, we have been compelled, though with a sorrowful and wounded heart, in invoking the aid of God, to draw the sword, and to promise to our empire, that we would not return it to the scabbard so long as a single enemy remained in arms in our territory. We fixed firmly in our hearts this determination, relying on the valour of the people whom God has confided to us; and we have not been deceived. What proofs of courage, of bravery, of piety, of patience, and of fortitude, has not Russia shown? The enemy who penetrated into her bosom with all his characteristic ferocity and rage, has not been able to draw from her a single sigh by the severe wounds he has inflicted.

“It would seem, that with the blood which flowed, her spirit of bravery increased; that the burning villages animated her patriotism; and the destruction and profanation of the temples of God strengthened her faith, and nourished in her the sentiment of implacable revenge. The army, the nobility, the gentry, the clergy, the merchants, the people, in a word, all classes, all estates of the empire, breathed the same spirit—a spirit of courage and of piety, a love equally ardent for their God and for their country. This unanimity, this universal zeal, have produced effects hardly credible, such as have scarcely existed in any age. Let us contemplate the enormous force collected from twenty kingdoms and nations, united under the same

standard, by an ambitious and atrocious enemy, flushed with success, which entered our country; half a million of soldiers, infantry and cavalry, accompanied by fifteen hundred pieces of cannon. With force so powerful, he pierces into the heart of Russia, extends himself, and begins to spread fire and devastation. But six months have scarcely elapsed since he passed our frontiers, and what has become of him? Let us here cite the words of the holy Psalmist—

“I myself have seen the ungodly in great power, and flourishing like a green bay tree.

“I went by, and, lo! he was gone: I sought him, but his place could no where be found.”

“*Psalm xxxvii. 36, 37.*

“This sublime sentence is accomplished in all its force on our arrogant and impious enemy. Where are his armies, like a mass of black clouds which the winds has drawn together? They are dispersed as rain. A great part wetting the earth with their blood, cover the fields of the government of Moscow, Kalouga, Smolenzk, White Russia, and Lithuania. Another part, equally great, has been taken in the frequent battles, with many generals and commanders. In fine, after numerous bloody combats, in the end, whole regiments, imploring the magnanimity of their conquerors, have laid down their arms before them. The rest, composing a number equally great, pursued in their precipitate flight by our victorious troops, overtaken by cold and hunger, have strewed the road from Moscow to the frontiers of Russia with carcasses, cannons, waggon and baggage. So that, of those numerous forces, a very inconsiderable part of the soldiers, exhausted and without arms, can, with difficulty, and almost lifeless, return to their country, to serve as a terrible example to their countrymen of the dreadful sufferings which must overtake those rash men

who dare to carry their hostile designs into the bosom of powerful Russia.

“To-day, we inform our well-beloved and faithful subjects, with a lively joy and grateful acknowledgments towards God, that the reality has surpassed even our hopes, and that what we announced at the commencement of this war is accomplished beyond all measure. There is no longer a single enemy on the face of our territory; or rather, there they all remain; but in what state?—dead, wounded and prisoners. Even their proud chief himself has with the utmost difficulty escaped, with his principal officers, leaving his army dispersed, and abandoning his cannon, of which there are more than 1000 pieces, exclusive of those buried or thrown into the water, which have been recovered, and are now in our hands. The scene of the destruction of his armies surpasses all belief. One almost imagines that our eyes deceive us. Who has been able to effect this? Without derogating from the merited glory of the commander-in-chief of our armies, this distinguished general, who has rendered to his country services forever memorable, and without detracting from the merits of other valiant and able commanders, who have distinguished themselves by their zeal and ardour, nor from the general bravery of their troops, we must confess, that what they have accomplished surpasses all human power. Acknowledge, then, Divine Providence in this wonderful event. Let us prostrate ourselves before his sacred throne; and evidently seeing his hand chastising pride and impiety, instead of boasting and glorying in our victories, learn from this great and terrible example to be modest and peaceable executors of his law and his will; to resemble not those impious profanators of the temples of God, whose carcasses, without number, now serve as food for dogs and crows. God is mighty in his kindness and

in his anger. Let us be guided by the justness of our actions, and the purity of our sentiments, as the only path which leads to Him. Let us proceed to the temple of his sanctity, and there crowned with his hand, thank him for the benefits which he has bestowed upon us; addressing to him our ardent supplications, that he will extend to us his favour, and put an end to the war, granting us victory on victory, and the wished for peace and tranquillity."

On the same day the emperor issued another proclamation, announcing his intention to erect in Petersburg a church dedicated to Jesus Christ, in eternal remembrance of the unexampled zeal, of the fidelity, patriotism, and love for religion, by which the Russian nation distinguished itself in the time of calamity, and to testify his gratitude to Divine Providence for the preservation of his empire. Towards the erection of this church, the English parliament have voted 5000 pounds.

His imperial majesty issued many regulations and decrees, during the sixteen or seventeen days he remained at Wilna, for the restoration of order in various provinces, which had suffered, and for prevention of disease from the infection of prisoners, and the number of dead bodies and quantity of carrion still above ground. In the neighbourhood of Wilna, sixteen thousand corpses were piled up in heaps, for the purpose of being consumed by fire, when sufficient wood could be procured; numbers were uncollected in the roads and villages; and the mortality in the hospitals at Wilna was for a time very great. The emperor repeatedly visited all the hospitals.

From Wilna the pursuit was carried on, in separate routes, upon Kowna, by general Witgenstein and the distinguished Hetman Platoff; but the former having taken and destroyed many of the ene-

my in his line of march, he proceeded to the Nieman and to Yourburg.

In conformity to directions issued by the Russian government, for the complete destruction of the dead bodies of men and horses belonging to the enemy, which fell in battle or perished from the cold, and had not been committed to the earth, the following reports were transmitted by the governors of the different provinces :

In the government of Minsk, up to the end of January, 18,797 dead bodies of men, and 2746 of horses, had been burnt; and there still remained to be burnt, of the former 30,106, and of the latter 27,316, the greater part of which were found on the banks of the Berezina. In the government of Moscow, up to the 15th of February, 48,754 dead bodies of men, and 27,849 of horses, had been burnt, besides a number of others that were buried. In the government of Smolenzk, up to the 2d of March, 71,733 dead bodies of men, and 51,430 of horses had been committed to the flames. In the government of Wilna, up to the 5th of March, 72,202 dead bodies of men, and 9407 of horses, had been put under ground. In the government of Kalouga, up to the 11th of March, 1014 human corpses, and 4384 dead horses, had been burnt. The sum of the whole was 213,516 human corpses, and 95,816 dead horses, exclusive of many others, either burned or buried, of which no account was taken. The strictest measures have been taken for destroying, before the approach of spring the dead bodies that may be found in rivers and woods.—*April 20, 1813.*

The emperor left Wilna in the night of the 7th of January, to join the division of the army which comprised the guards; and the head quarters of the whole army were at Merez on the 10th. On the 13th the emperor crossed the Nieman, amidst the acclamations of his brave troops, and continued to

march with them to Lique, where his head quarters were established on the 19th.

The Russian army, on the 26th, was at Wittenburg, an advance of nearly one hundred and twenty-six miles; and a division under count Woronzoff captured large magazines at Bromberg, which had been collected there by the enemy.

About this time the emperor Alexander, anxious to recompense, by the most munificent rewards, exertions against the common enemy, appointed count Rostopschin, the brave and virtuous governor of Moscow, minister of the interior of Russia; the ex-Prussian minister Stein, against whom Bonaparte had issued a most furious proclamation, was made a Russian cabinet minister; and all the generals of the Russian army had the most distinguished honours heaped upon them.

On the 6th of February the emperor arrived at Polotzk, with twenty-eight thousand troops. He was received with every demonstration of joy.

On the 8th of February, general Miloradovitch took possession of the city of Warsaw; and the citizens immediately called upon their brethren fighting under the banners of the enemy, to return to their homes.

The Austrians were now permitted, by the clemency of the emperor, to conclude an unlimited truce, in virtue of which they withdrew into Galicia; and the Saxons retired with them into their own country.

The liberal sentiments of the emperor towards the Prussian monarchy and nation had already insured their attachment. General D'Yorke had concluded a convention, on the 30th of December, by which fifteen thousand troops under his command were to remain neutral. The Prussians, in every direction, received the Russian army as friends,

and provided them voluntarily with provisions of every kind.

On the 15th of February the king of Prussia offered himself as a mediator between the belligerents, and proposed a truce, on terms exceedingly favourable to the beaten and discomfited enemy; they were, however, rejected by Bonaparte. The Prussian patriots, therefore, now crowded around their sovereign at Breslaw, and earnestly insisted on an alliance, offensive and defensive, with Russia, which, on the 22d of February, was mutually agreed upon by the emperor of Russia and king of Prussia, and a combined plan of military operations arranged.

On the 17th February the emperor issued the following ukase to his army :

“ Warriors! the glorious and memorable year has expired, in which, through your unheard-of exploits, the formidable enemy, who, in his arrogance, dared to press forward into the interior of our empire, has been punished and driven back. This year of glory has fled, but your heroic deeds will remain forever; time shall never sink them in oblivion—they will live in the recollection of posterity. At the expense of your blood, you have rid your native land of the princes and people who were combined against it. Your valorous efforts, your deeds, your perseverance, have procured for you the gratitude of Russia, and the esteem of foreign nations. You have shown the world, by your valour and your constancy, that when the heart is penetrated with the truths of religion, and full of piety, the assaults of the enemy, though like the stormy waves of the ocean, are dashed in pieces against this impregnable rock, and die away in murmuring foam.

“ Warriors! to make known by a mark of distinction all such as have co-operated in these great deeds, we have ordered a silver medal to be struck.



The ever-memorable year 1812 will be engraven upon it; and, suspended from a blue ribband, it will ornament the manly breast, that impenetrable shield of our native land. Every one of you is worthy of receiving this honourable badge, because all of you have undergone considerable hardships, and are all animated with the same spirit. Proud may you be of having earned this emblem of valour; it will ever distinguish you as the faithful sons of your country. The enemy must tremble when he beholds this honourable badge: he will feel that, under this silver shield, glows unconquerable valour, not leading to avarice or impiety, but which rests its firmest grounds in holy religion, and in unmixed love of country.

(Signed)

“ALEXANDER.”

The fortunate alliance now perfected between Russia and Prussia, gave almost a new character to the war. It had hitherto been carried on by the Russians in defence of their country, against its barbarous invaders; it was now to be pursued for the deliverance of Europe from his tyranny.

Prince Kutusoff Smolenzk, therefore, on the 25th of March, issued, in the names of their majesties the emperor of Russia and king of Prussia, the following energetic appeal to the Germans:

“While Russia’s victorious warriors, united with those of Prussia, their allies appear in Germany, his majesty the emperor of Russia and his majesty the king of Prussia announce to the princes and people of Germany the return of freedom and independence. They come only with the intention of helping them to reconquer those lost but inalienable blessings of nations, and of affording powerful protection and lasting security to the regeneration of a venerable empire. It is this grand object alone.

raised far above every selfish view, which dictates and directs the advance of their armies.

“These armies, under the eyes of both monarchs, and led on by their general, confide in the righteous Disposer of events, and hope to be able to accomplish for the whole world, and irrevocably for Germany, what they have already so gloriously begun for themselves—the destruction of the most ignominious yoke. Full of this spirit, they march forward. Their watchword is honour and independence. Let every German, who would still be thought worthy of that name, unite with them heartily and strongly: let all, be they princes or nobles, or in the lower ranks of life, join heart and hand, with their lives and property, in the Russian and Prussian plans of deliverance. Such a disposition, and such zeal, their majesties trust, they are entitled to expect from every German, when they view the spirit which the victories of Russia have roused in an awakened world.

“They invite, therefore, the faithful co-operation of every German prince; and they would gladly anticipate, that none of them, by proving rebellious to the German commonweal, will expose themselves to deserved destruction by the force of open hostilities.

“The confederation of the Rhine, that deceitful sifter which the general disturber threw around dismembered Germany, even to the annihilation of her ancient name, can no longer be tolerated, as being the work of foreign constraint, and the instrument of foreign influence. Their majesties are confident that they only comply with the universal wishes of the people, when they declare, that the dissolution of this confederation must be considered as one of their most settled determinations.

“Herewith, at the same time, is the relation declared in which his majesty the emperor of all the

Russias is desirous of standing with regard to renovated Germany, and to its internal constitution.

“As he wishes to see the annihilation of foreign influence, that relation can be nothing else than extending a protecting hand over a work, the full completion of which can only be accomplished by the princes and people of Germany. The more firmly the foundations and the superstructure of this work arise out of the national spirit of the German people, the more powerfully and the more unitedly will Germany shine forth among the nations of Europe.

“In fine, his majesty and his allies, between whom the most complete understanding prevails with regard to the herein declared resolutions and views, are determined perseveringly to devote their strongest efforts to the glorious object of delivering Germany from a foreign yoke.

“Let France, who is beauteous and strong within herself, occupy herself, in future, in promoting her internal welfare ! No foreign power intends disturbing it ; no hostile attempt shall be made upon her rightful frontiers. But, be it known to France, that the other powers are solicitous of conquering lasting tranquillity for their subjects ; and that they will not lay down their arms, until the foundation of the independence of every European state has been established and secured.”

On the 3d of March, the Russian troops had entered Berlin, and were received by an immense concourse of people with kindness and hospitality.

During the month of April, the greatest exertions were made by Bonaparte to repair the losses he had suffered, and to bring the whole force of France into action to support that superiority over the continent which now began to be shaken to its foundations ; and his success was so great, that, by the latter end of the month, he had nearly six hundred

thousand men ready for the ensuing campaign on the Elbe and the Rhine.

The Russian army, about this time, experienced a severe loss in the death of its brave commander-in-chief, prince Kutusoff Smolenzk, who was left ill on the march at Buntzlau, where he died. Upon this occasion, the following letter was addressed by the emperor of Russia to the widow of prince Kutusoff Smolenzk, dated Dresden, April 25.

“Princess Catharine Hiinishna! the Almighty, whose decrees it is impossible for mortals to resist, and unlawful to murmur at, has been pleased to remove your husband, prince Michael Larionovitz Kutusoff Smolenzk, in the midst of his brilliant career of victory and glory, from a transient to an internal life. A great and grievous loss, not for you alone, but for the country at large! Your tears flow not alone for him—I weep—all Russia weeps with you. Yet God, who has called to himself, grants you this consolation, that his name and his deeds are immortal; a grateful country will never forget his merits. Europe, and the whole world, will forever admire him, and inscribe his name on the list of the most distinguished commanders. A monument shall be erected to his honour; beholding which, the Russian will feel his heart swelled with pride, and the foreigner will respect a nation that gives birth to such great men. I have given orders that you should retain all the advantages enjoyed by your late husband; and remain your affectionate

“ALEXANDER.”

General Witgenstein succeeded to the chief command of the army, and, in a few days afterwards, gained, on the 2d of May, the battle of Gross-Gorschen, of which the following is too interesting an account to be omitted.

“On the 30th April, information was received, at general count Witgenstein’s head-quarters, of the

greater part of the army and the French guards having crossed the Saale in the vicinity of Naumberg. It was at the same time reported, that the emperor Napoleon had arrived at the army. We observed that the Viceroy's army drew to the right. It was therefore clear, that the enemy endeavoured, by all means, to form a junction, and that it was most probably his intention to give a general battle. His majesty the emperor Alexander, and his majesty the king of Prussia, therefore, went to their armies, to animate the courage of the troops by their personal presence. But, the better to be enabled to judge of the enemy's strength, a reconnoissance was undertaken with general Von Winzingerode's corps, from Leipzig, on the road to Weissenfels. This confirmed the intelligence received, of the enemy being there in considerable force. Upon this, a very severe engagement took place on the 1st of May, with the said corps, by which we were convinced that the main force of the enemy was in the vicinity of Weissenfels and Lutzen. It was believed that the Viceroy's position was between Leipzig and Halle, and consequently the enemy's plan for the battle was clearly apparent. General count Von Witgenstein resolved on being before hand with him, to obstruct him in his offensive operations. It was necessary, in this attempt, to make it our main object immediately to fall on such part of his force as was on his side considered to be the best troops, in order, after such a stroke, to give larger space for the operations of our flying corps, over whom the enemy had lately acquired a superiority. Therefore it was requisite, if possible, to direct the attack immediately against the rearmost troops. For this purpose the main army broke up in the night between the 1st and 2d May, from Notha and Bornä, in two columns, and pushed forward as far as the defile of the Elster, in the vicinity of Pegau. Gene-

ral Von Winzingerode received orders to mask this operation, to leave his posts of cavalry standing, and to unite himself with the main army by the way of Swenkau.

“At break of day all the troops passed the defile of the Elster, near Pegau, and drew up in order of battle, on the left bank of the Elster, with their right wing to the village of Werben, and the left to that of Gruna. By reconnoitring, we discovered that the enemy's main body already extended beyond Weissenfels, to the villages of Gross-Gorschen, Klein-Gorschen, Rahno, Starsiedel, and Lutzen. The enemy did not venture to attempt disturbing our march, nor to get before us into the plain, but took his position in the village between Gross-Gorschen and Starsiedel.

“About 12 o'clock at noon, general Blucher received orders, as commanding the van-guard of the army, and supported by a part of the Russian artillery, to attack the enemy. The attack was made on the village of Gross-Gorschen, which was obstinately defended by the enemy. It was taken by storm. General D'Yorke marched with his corps to the right, of the village. The whole army wheeled to the right, and presently after the battle became general along the whole line of Blucher's corps. The enemy, at the same time, displayed a numerous artillery, chiefly of heavy calibre; and the fire of musquetry in the villages was kept up, with great vivacity, for several hours. In this murderous battle the villages of Klein-Gorschen and Rahno, as likewise the village of Gross-Gorschen, were early taken by storm, and with unexampled bravery kept possession of for several hours. At length the enemy returned with considerable force, surrounded, and in part retook these villages; but, on the attack being renewed was not able to retain possession of them. The Prussian guards moved for-

ward, and after a most obstinate combat of an hour and a half, those villages were again retaken from the enemy, and remained in our possession. During this time, the corps of general Winzingerode on the left wing, and the corps of general D'Yorke, with a part of the Russian troops under general Berg, had taken a share in the battle. We stood opposed to the enemy, at the distance of 100 paces, and one of the most bloody battles became general.

“Our reserves had drawn nearer to the field of battle, to be in readiness wherever needful, and thus was the battle continued till near seven o'clock in the evening. During its course, the villages on the left wing were likewise several times taken and retaken by both parties. At seven o'clock, the enemy appeared with a new corps on the right wing before Gross and Klein-Gorschen, (probably with the Viceroy's army) made a brisk attack on us, and endeavoured to tear from us the advantages we had gained. The infantry of a part of the Russian reserves was now brought forward to the right wing, to the support of general D'Yorke's corps, which was briskly attacked; and a most desperate engagement (in which the Russian artillery, during the whole remaining time, greatly distinguished itself, as did the corps of D'Yorke, Blucher, and Winzingerode, the whole day) was now continued until night came on. The enemy had likewise again attacked our centre and the villages with great briskness, but we maintained our position.

“In this situation night put an end to the battle. The enemy was to have been again attacked on the following morning, the 3d of May. He had meanwhile taken Leipzig during the battle. This obliged us to manœuvre with him. It was not till afterwards that we were informed, that in consequence of the battle he had again been forced to quit it; and had, by the same means, lost Halle, and 15,000

of his best troops; many of his cannon were dismounted, and a number of his powder-waggons blown up. Our light detachments are again at liberty to harass him, and to prosecute the advantage gained. We have constantly kept the field of battle; the victory is ours, and the intended purpose is accomplished. Near fifty thousand of our best troops have not yet been engaged; we have not lost a single cannon: and the enemy must have perceived what can be effected by united national feelings, between two firmly allied nations, in courage and resistance; and that the high hand of Providence protects the just cause of those powers, who have no object but their independence, and to found a durable peace on the freedom of all nations.

“Such was the battle of the 2d of May, fought near the plain of Lutzen, where the liberty of Germany was once before conquered. With the courage of lions, did both Russians and Prussians fight for it; and their endeavours will not have been in vain. The loss we have sustained may amount to ten thousand men, but the most of them are only slightly wounded. Among the killed on the Prussian side, we have, among several other staff-officers, to lament the loss of the prince of Hesse-Homberg. Our wounded are, on the Russian part, general Von Kanovnitzen; and, on the Prussian, general Blucher and Scharnhorst slightly, and Hunerbein dangerously. On the French side, according to the report of the prisoners, we learn that marshal Bessieres is killed, and Ney and Souham wounded. Upwards of 1000 prisoners are already in, ten pieces of artillery taken, and some thousand muskets captured at Halle. Our light troops are now occupied in pursuing the enemy.

“Although the numerous villages lying near each other in this territory, and its canals, together with the precaution taken by the enemy never to appear



in the open plain, did not afford our cavalry an opportunity of charging in line, yet the Prussian garde-du-corps, and the regiment of Brandenburg, cuirassiers, cut down several masses of the enemy's infantry, even amidst the villages, and under his cross-fire, and thereby gained a share in the immortal honour which the Prussian warriors have again obtained in this murderous battle; and in like manner have the Russians proved that they can fight on the German soil, with the same sentiments which insured victory to them in their own country. 'These are the results of this day, up to the present. God bless our arms! He visibly, and during the battle, protected both our beloved monarchs, who several times exposed themselves to danger, even in the villages where the battle raged the hottest. May he furthermore bless and preserve them to us!'

It not being within the limits of our work, to give a regular detail of the events of the northern campaigns, we have inserted particular accounts of those only in which the illustrious subject of our memoir was actively engaged, or by which his character might be more perfectly developed. We shall therefore briefly state, that the severity of the winter campaign, the rapidity of their marches, and the unexampled success that attended their exertions, occasioned, first, an actual diminution of force, to the amount of nearly 100,000 men, and, next, an extension of their armies, over the immense tract of country they had overrun, which had the same effect of rendering their force now brought into action inadequate to oppose the numerical superiority of the enemy. The consequence was, that several severe battles were fought, and won by the bravery of the allied troops, yet they were still obliged to fall back upon their reinforcements. The last of these battles, previous to the armistice

now proposed, were fought on the 19th, and 20th, 21st and 22d of May, 1813, of which the following is the Russian account.

“The advices brought on the 18th uniformly confirmed what had been conjectured from previous reconnoissances, that the enemy had drawn together all his forces to attack the combined army, which was bivouacked between Bautzen and Viessenberg, and which was disposed in the following manner. The advanced guard, under the orders of general Miloradovitch, occupied the town and the heights on the left; the corps of general Kleist, in a line with the advanced guard, occupied the heights on the right of the town; these two corps having the defile of the Spree immediately in their front. The corps of general Blucher, was posted on the heights of Kreckwitz. The left wing, under the orders of prince de Gortschakoff, rested on some woody heights. Detachments of cavalry were placed on the heights in the vallies, with which the mountains are intersected, and extended themselves to the frontiers of Bohemia. The Russian guard and the cavalry formed the reserve.

“The same day, (the 18th) it was ascertained that the corps of Lauriston had marched from Senftenberg to Hoyerswerda, and had been followed by another corps which some said to be Victor’s, others Sebastiani’s. The force of Lauriston was calculated at 14,000 men, the other corps at 20,000 men; they were supposed to be a days march distant from each other.”

“It was immediately decided to march to meet the first corps, and to attack it before it could form its junction near Bautzen. It was hoped that this corps, would be beaten before it had time to join the other corps. The troops under the orders of generals Barclay de Tolly and D’Yorke, were detached in consequence, in the night of the 18th and

19th, to attack the enemy, who had advanced on the side of Hoyerswerda. They had orders, as soon as the expedition was over, to return immediately to the principal army, to wait with united forces the attack of the enemy in the position chosen for this purpose. Lauriston, however, had already pushed his march towards Bautzen, and had brought up the corps which followed him, in such a manner that they were engaged with the enemy near Koningswarta and Weissig: that is to say, general Barclay near Koningswarta, with the corps of Lauriston; and general D'Yorke, near Weissig, with the corps, much more considerable, which had drawn near to Lauriston. The enemy was consequently infinitely superior in numbers, and particularly on the side of general D'Yorke: they, however, immediately determined to attack; and, at the same time that general Barclay attacked the corps of Lauriston, general D'Yorke vigorously attacked that of Sebastiani, thereby to support general Barclay de Tolly. The combat was warm; it terminated at ten o'clock at night. The loss of the enemy is estimated at 3000 men killed and wounded; seven pieces of cannon, and 2000 prisoners taken, among whom are the general of division Peguerie, the generals of brigade Martelli, Beletier, and St. Andreas. The expedition was ended with this success; and the two generals, conformably to their instructions, retired towards the position.

“Only six pieces of cannon have been brought away, which arrived with the prisoners, the seventh having been destroyed.”

*Russian Narrative of the Events of the 20th May.*

“On the 20th, the two detached corps were scarcely returned to their position near Gottamel-da, when, about noon, the enemy advanced in col-

umns on Bautzen, and attacked, under the protection of a brisk cannonade, the advanced-guard, commanded by generals Miloradovitch and Kliest. The determination of the latter obstinately to defend the heights situated on the side of Bautzen, occasioned a most animated and glorious combat. He had to fight an enemy, without exaggeration, four times as strong as himself, yet he did not fall back to the position until four o'clock in the afternoon, after the enemy had entirely turned his left, and after having resisted the most vigorous attacks on his right flank and front. The obstinacy with which the Prussian general Kleist, and the Russian generals Rudiger and Roth, and colonel Marcoff, defended those heights, and the conduct of the troops on the occasion, excited the admiration of the whole army.

“Whilst the attack was made on this point, the enemy was making another on the centre and left; but there also he was vigorously received by count Miloradovitch and prince Eugene of Wirtemberg, and constantly repulsed. It being very late, his tirailleurs endeavoured, in the dark, to gain the woody mountains which commanded our extreme left, to alarm us with the fear of being turned on that side. The prince of Wirtemberg sent some tirailleurs to drive them back. The emperor sent there colonel Michand, one of his aides-de-camp, to direct the movements; and the French were driven back as far as the defile of the mountains by which they made the attack.

“The engagements which the enemy had maintained on the points before mentioned, lasted until ten o'clock at night, with an uninterrupted fire of artillery and musquetry; it must have cost him 6000 men, as he was obliged to force the defile of the Spree under the fire of our cannon and small arms. On the left wing, the corps of the prince of Wirtem-

berg fought with the same perseverance and courage as that of general Kliest did on the right."

On the 21st, the battle was the most bloody and obstinate recorded in military annals. By sir Charles Stewart's admirable dispatch, dated Golberb, 24th May, 1813, we are informed, that the allied army under count Witgenstein, in position in advance of Wurschen and Hochkirch, was attacked by the enemy at day-break, commanded by Napoleon in person, who had collected all his forces for this effort. The ground chosen by the allies to resist the enemy's approach, on the great roads to Silesia and the Oder, was bounded on the left by a range of mountains which separates Lusatia from Bohemia, through which marshal Daun, marched to the battle and victory of Hochkirch.

Some strong commanding heights, on which the batteries had been constructed, near the village of Jackowitz, and separated from the chain of mountains by streams and marshy ground, formed the *appui* to the left flank of the position. Beyond and in front of it, many batteries were pushed forward, defended by infantry and cavalry, on a ridge that projected into the low ground near the Spree river. It then extended to the right, through villages which were strongly entrenched, across the great roads leading from Bautzen to Hochkirch and Gorlitz; from thence, in front of the village of Bourthewitz, to three or four commanding hills, which rise abruptly in a conical shape, and form strong features: these, with the high ground of Kreckwitz, were strengthened by batteries, and were considered the right point of the line. The ground in the front was favourable for cavalry, except in some marshy and uneven parts, where it would impede its operations. Fleches were constructed, and entrenchments thrown up, at advantageous distances on the plain; along the front of which ran a deep boggy

rivulet, which extended round the right of the position. On the extreme right the country was flat and woody, intersected by roads bearing towards the Bober and the Oder. General Barclay de Tolly's corps was stationed here as a manœuvring corps; placed to guard against the enemy's attempts on the right and rear of the allies. The extent of the whole line was between three and four English miles. The different corps occupying it were as follows: general Kleist's and general D'York's, in echelon and in reserve, on the right; general Blucher's, count Witgenstein's, and general Miloradovitch's formed on the left; and the guards and grenadiers, and all the Russian cavalry, were stationed in reserve in the centre.

The enemy evinced, early in the action, a determination to press on the flanks of the allied armies. He had thrown a very strong corps into the mountains on the left of the allies, which favoured his species of warfare; but general Miloradovitch was prepared here, having detached prince Carchikoff and count Osterman with ten battalions of light troops, and a large corps of Cossacks, with their artillery, under colonel Davidoff, to occupy these hills. After a very strong tirailade in this quarter, and a distant cannonading on the right of the allies, which commenced the action, the enemy began to develope his forces, and to move his different columns of attack to their stations. The contest in the mountains became gradually warmer, and he supported it by a very powerful line of artillery. The prince of Wirtemberg's and general St. Priest's divisions of general Miloradovitch's corps were here sharply engaged; and a charge of cavalry was executed with success against some guns of the enemy, one of which was taken.

The emperor Napoleon was now visible on a commanding spot, directing the battle. He deploy-

ed in front of the town of Bautzen his guards, cavalry and lancers, and showed heavy columns of infantry on the esplanade before it; bringing up, besides, a number of brigades of artillery, with which he occupied some advantageous heights between the position of the allies and Bautzen, that were favourable to the support of his attacks. These demonstrations denoted an effort in this direction; and a disposition was accordingly made, with general Blücher's corps and the cavalry, to meet it: but an increasing fire and a more lively cannonade on the right, made it ultimately no longer doubtful where his chief attempt was aimed. Columns of attack, under a heavy fire, were now in motion from the enemy's left, while others were filing to gain the right of the allies: and general Barclay de Tolly was attacked by a very superior force, under marshal Ney and general Lauriston, and, notwithstanding the most gallant efforts, was forced to abandon the villages of Klutz and Cannervitz.

General Barclay de Tolly had orders, if out-numbered, to change the ground he occupied in front of Cannervitz and Priesnitz, and to place himself on the heights surrounding the villages of Rachel and Baruth, by which the army would change its position on the left, and cover the main roads through Wurtzen and Hochkirch to the rear: but the enemy outflanked him on the right, while they warmly engaged him in front, and occupied those heights before him; which determined him to throw himself on the right of Wurschen, where the imperial headquarters had been, and which equally answered his object. When it was perceived that general Barclay de Tolly was pressed by immense odds, general Blücher was ordered to move to his right, and attack the enemy in flank.

General Blücher was afterwards supported by generals Kleist and D'Yorke; and here a most bloody

flict ensued. These attacks succeeded in checking the enemy. A charge of 4000 of the allied cavalry on the columns of the enemy's infantry which had carried the village of Krecknitz completely repulsed him, and the Prussians again occupied it. Still these efforts were arrested by the enemy's bringing up fresh troops; and though partial successes were obtained, the general issue was in suspense.

A momentary advantage being gained by the enemy in consequence of General Barclay de Tolly's movements, he lost no time in making every exertion to push it to the utmost; renewing at the same time his attack on the Russian left flank, and assaulting the batteries that covered the conical heights, as also those of Krecknitz on the right. He made himself master of the latter, and of one of the batteries of the allies; which gave him in some degree, the key of the position, as it commanded the low ground on the right and centre of it.

In every other part of the line, the allies firmly sustained the contest. But it soon became apparent, that the enemy had not only superior numbers to fight them at all points, but he had also the means of prolonging his flank march on their right, thus threatening their communications, and menacing their rear.

It might have been easy, by a general assault of the grenadiers and guards in reserve, to have recovered the heights of Krecknitz, still the pressure round the flank on general Barclay de Tolly's corps would have again rendered the speedy abandonment of them necessary; and when these troops moved to their point of attack, the centre, where the enemy still shewed a powerful force would have been endangered. The allies were therefore induced to change their position at five o'clock in the evening.



*Russian Journal of the operations of the 21st May.*

“Night put an end to the combat of the 20th. Nothing had yet taken place out of the position. The 21st, at half past four in the morning, the enemy commenced by attacking the left, second by a brisk fire of tirailleurs, which he had posted in the mountains, where he had also pushed forward some men to Cunevalde, to annoy us upon this flank. The count de Milioradovitch and the prince of Wirtemberg, nevertheless repelled with intrepidity all the attacks on this side. They were renewed with the same vivacity at mid-day.

“However, between six and seven o’clock, the attack had equally commenced by a brisk cannonade and a smart fire of musquetry upon the right wing of the line, where the corps were posted under the orders of general Barclay de Tolly. The enemy was infinitely superior in numbers; and endeavoured, protected by the forest which covered him, to outflank this corps. The general Barclay de Tolly was posted on the heights, where there is a wind-mill, near Gleina; he extended his line during the battle towards the height, situated near Baruth, named La Voigtschutte. It was accomplished. General Kleist received orders to carry his troops to that point. He made an attack, as brisk as well combined, and forced the enemy to renounce the advantages which his superiority of numbers gave him. General Blucher sustained this attack with his two brigades, and by this sudden movement the enemy was obliged to give up his project of turning the right wing, as he had been that of turning the left.

“During all these attacks, he kept up a continual fire of artillery and small arms, principally upon the centre, upon which, however, he made no positive attempt. Suddenly the attack began upon the

heights of Krecknitz, which general Blucher's corps occupied. He took advantage of the moment when this general left this position with a part of his corps to sustain that of general Barclay de Tolly, for the purpose of a vigorous attack. The enemy approached the heights from three sides at once, with the greatest part of his forces, which had formed into three columns for the attack; which established on this point a decided superiority. The tirailleurs posted themselves in the village of Kreckwitz. General D'Yorke arrived to their relief, and the village was retaken. The troops defended these heights with an obstinacy beyond example. Four battalions of the Russian guards advanced to sustain general Blucher. In the mean time, the left wing, under the orders of count Miloradovitch, had pushed forward, taken many cannon from the enemy, destroyed some battalions, and was in advance.

“The conflict became more sanguinary every moment. The instant was arrived wherein it was necessary to bring all our means into action, and risk all, or put an end to the battle. We determined upon the latter. To expose all to the hazard of a single day, would have been to play the game of Napoleon; to preserve our forces, to reap advantages from a war more difficult to the enemy as it is prolonged, is that of the allies. We commenced a retreat. We made it in full day-light, under the eyes of the enemy, at seven in the evening, as upon a parade, without his being able to gain a single trophy; whilst the combined army had taken from him, in these three memorable days, by the valour and constancy of the troops, 12 pieces of cannon, made 2000 prisoners, amongst whom are four generals, and many officers of distinction. The least exaggerated accounts state the loss of the French

at 14,000 men; that of the allies does not exceed 6000.

“Nothing could equal the courage and perseverance with which the army fought, but the *sang froid* and order with which it retired.

“The spirit of the troops is the same as on the first day of the campaign.”

The force of the allies, in this sanguinary contest, did not exceed 65,000 men; the force of the enemy amounted to 120,000 men. Their loss in the actions of the 20th and 21st, by their own statement, amounted to 11 or 12,000 killed and wounded. Marshal duke Friuli, and several officers of note, were killed.

*Russian Narrative of the Events of the 22d May.*

“The army had fallen back before night on Weisenberg; but the advanced corps continued to occupy the front in advance of Wurschen until morning, when they commenced their movement on Reichenbach. The enemy’s army, commanded by Napoleon in person, then pushed forward, in the hope of cutting off count Miloradovitch, with the victorious troops of the left wing, who had orders to march on Reichenbach by the road of Lobau. This enterprise was defeated by the activity and prudence of the chiefs. A part of our troops had taken up a position behind Reichenbach, whilst the advanced guards defended that place. The enemy endeavoured to dislodge them, by demonstrations of cavalry and the fire of artillery: the attempt continued without effect, till the moment when a strong column of infantry began to deploy; the troops then fell back behind the town, leaving only two battalions of chasseurs to defend the entrance of the defiles. These two battalions made such an obstinate resistance, that the enemy was obliged to advance in

considerable strength; at length he thought his cavalry could act with considerable effect. He ordered a corps to charge, and to pass through Reichenbach: the attack was received by a body of cavalry destined to cover the chasseurs; and of that of the enemy which had entered Reichenbach, scarcely a man escaped the Russian charge and the fire of the infantry.

“This reverse irritated Napoleon; eight hundred men of the guard, with a regiment of lancers, supported by two or three thousand horse, attempted to turn and take in the rear a battery, which had been placed on an eminence on the left. General Colbert conducted this attack. Our cavalry was obliged to give way; but, an instant after, a regiment of hussars and a party of Cossacks were on the flank of Napoleon’s guards; other detachments threw themselves forward, and the enemy was put in complete rout, after having lost some hundreds of men killed, wounded and prisoners. The following morning the rear-guard continued its march on Gorlitz, without the enemy daring to annoy it. And in this manner the combined armies have executed their movements from Bautzen, without having lost even the wheel of a gun-carriage.”

Thus the allies, in a few weeks, gave two decided battles to infinitely superior numbers. No day passed without trophies of victory arriving at the head-quarters of the army; no day, without affairs or skirmishes, in which they uniformly had the advantage. Committed to a desperate battle at Lutzen, where they triumphantly stood and conquered, and from which the difficulty of getting up ammunition alone obliged them to retire, they had executed the passage of the Elbe, (than which no more difficult operation can be conceived in the presence of a superior enemy, and traversed an extent of country of nearly three hundred miles, retiring,

contending position after position, and carrying with them between six and seven hundred pieces of cannon, without losing a gun, or sacrificing any of their baggage.

On the 27th of May, the imperial head-quarters were at Striegau ; and on the 28th, at Schweidnitz.

On the 26th, the cavalry under the orders of general Blucher had a most brilliant affair with a division of the enemy under general Maison, debouching from Haynau. Sir Charles Stewart describes it as one of the most distinguished cavalry attacks against squares of infantry that has been known in this war. The Prussian cavalry were concealed behind favourable ground, to accomplish their object. Their impatience to attack, however, was so great, that the result was not so complete as it might have been. Twelve pieces of cannon and one thousand three hundred prisoners fell into the hands of the allies.

On the 27th, eight squadrons of Russian cavalry, half Cossacks, attacked, near Golberg, twelve squadrons of the enemy's cuirassiers Napoleon, of whom they made four hundred men and several officers prisoners. A partizan corps also captured a large ammunition park.

General Blucher's corps d'armee retired on the 28th to Preschua, on the Striegau river, while the main army took up its position near Schweidnitz.

By the second article of the armistice, concluded on the 8th of June at midnight, it was to last to the 20th of July, inclusive : it was afterwards extended to the 10th of August ; and hostilities were not to recommence without giving six days notice.

General Barclay de Tolly had succeeded count Witgenstein in the chief command of the allied armies, previous to the armistice being agreed upon.

On the 12th of June, the funeral of prince Kutusoff Smolenzk, was solemnized with great pomp.

About seven o'clock in the evening, the body arrived at the place intended and appointed by his imperial majesty for its sepulture, in the church of Notre Dame, of Casan. The procession left the convent of St. Sergius, at eleven o'clock in the morning. The burgher corps of St. Petersburg, arrived at 3 o'clock, at the limits of the city, near to the river Tarakanowka, to receive the venerable remains, of which the capital was to be the depot. The nobles and clergy, accompanied by the metropolitan, and the great civil and military authorities, followed on foot. The capital had not for a long time beheld so imposing a sight as the funeral procession, which was the finest triumphal march, and worthy of the hero of the nation. The people drew the funeral car to the church door. The coffin was placed in a vault under the dome. It was covered by the trophies of the French eagles and colours, accompanied by the Turkish trophies. A genius, with a laurel crown in his hand, hovered in the air over the hero's corpse. The people went to render their last homages to the man of their affections. The offices for the dead, and interment of the corpse, took place on Friday, the 14th of June. The tomb is under the picture which represents the deliverance of Moscow.

During the cessation of hostilities, every effort was made by the allies to procure the peace of Europe by negotiation ; and terms still advantageous to Bonaparte might have been obtained by him. But it appeared, that he desired the armistice for the purpose only of training the force he had been able to accumulate. The emperor of Austria, who, until this moment, had persuaded himself that his son-in-law might pay some deference to his paternal councils, became now undeceived, and found himself compelled to take up arms in defence of

himself and Europe, against the aggressions of the blood-thirsty Corsican.

The manifesto of the emperor of Austria, upon joining the allies, is a state paper of considerable length, not necessary to be given here ; the following passages, however, are too much connected with our subject to be omitted :

Referring to the war Bonaparte had carried on against Russia, it observes—"The campaign of 1812 furnished a memorable example of the failure of an undertaking supported by gigantic power, and conducted by a captain of the first rank, when, in the confidence of great military talents, he despises the rules of prudence, and outsteps the bounds of nature.

"This rapid and extraordinary change of fortune was the forerunner of an important revolution in all the political relations of Europe. The confederacy of Russia, Great Britain, and Sweden, presented a point of union to all neighbouring states.

"In the beginning of December, steps had been taken to dispose the emperor Napoleon to a peaceful policy."

"Eventual conditions, to which his self-created boundary did not seem to have any relation, were spoken of, at one time with menacing indignation, at another with bitter contempt ; as if it had not been possible to declare, in terms sufficiently distinct, the resolution of the emperor Napoleon *not to make, to the repose of the world even one single nominal sacrifice.*

It then states, "that in the month of April 1813, Bonaparte proposed to Austria the dismemberment of the Prussian states, as the price of Austria's joining him. Of the congress at Prague the emperor of Austria knew nothing but *through the public prints.* The armistice gave Austria another opportunity of negotiating for a peace, who proposed

sending a messenger to the British government. The emperor Napoleon not only received the proposal with apparent approbation, but even voluntarily offered to expedite the business, by allowing the persons to be dispatched for that purpose to England a passage through France. When it was to be carried into effect, unexpected difficulties arose, the passports were delayed from time to time under trifling pretexts, and at length entirely refused. This proceeding afforded a fresh and important ground for entertaining just doubts as to the sincerity of the assurances which the emperor Napoleon had more than once publicly expressed, of his disposition to peace, although several of his expressions, at that particular period, afforded just reason to believe that *a maritime peace was the object of his most anxious solicitude*. Russian, Prussian, and Austrian negotiators arrived at Prague; but Bonaparte showed no serious anxiety to make peace. It was the 28th July before his minister arrived; and nothing but formal and minute discussions took place. After an useless exchange of mere formal notes, the 14th of August arrived. Austria took up arms, and the congress was dissolved."

Upon the expiration of the armistice, the emperor of Russia issued a proclamation, declaring, that, "on the 16th of August, including the notification of six days, stipulating for the resumption of hostilities, the armistice finished. This space of two months and twelve days having left little hopes of the conclusion of a just and honourable peace, the bloody contest, on which definitely depends the fate of Europe, is about to commence.

"The enemy, as might be expected, had rather in view, in demanding a suspension of arms, the assembling of new forces to enslave nations who are strangers to him, than that of restoring that calm which so many storms rendered so necessary and so



precious. But such is the nature of the circumstances in which Europe has for such a length of time found herself! *It is by blood the hydra revolution had its birth, by blood she has been nourished, and BY BLOOD SHE MUST EXPIRE.* It is without doubt sad, it is humiliating to the human mind, that an age which is called the age of understanding and philosophy, should precisely be that in which the *science of CRIME* has been cultivated most profoundly, and with the greatest success; this it is which has given the most dreadful examples of human depravity.

“Providence, whose impenetrable decrees laugh at our vain reasoning, after having punished so much pride, will at least make the good cause triumph. Let us dare to hope, that nations, tried by so many misfortunes and calamities, will understand their real interests better.

“The spirit of revolt will no longer place arms in the hands of men to use against themselves, or against their sovereigns; they will now, on the contrary, offer the more touching spectacle of devotion towards their princes and their country. Animated by such generous notions, their resources will be as inexhaustible, as their resignation and perseverance will be indefatigable.”

The first operations of the allies, who were now strengthened by the accession of the crown prince of Sweden, with 30,000 men, advancing from the north of Germany towards the scene of action, were directed against Dresden, where the headquarters of the French were fixed. Their main army, under Napoleon himself, was then in Silesia; but he hasted precipitately to save the Saxon capital. The battle fought under the walls of that city terminated in his favour, and frustrated the plan of the allies.

The most unfortunate event that occurred at this moment, was the death of the celebrated general Moreau, who had been banished by Bonaparte from France. He had lately returned from America, to assist, by his talents, the councils of the allies. The following may be considered as the last act of this great man's life. It is the letter he wrote, after the fatal accident, to his lady.

“MY DEAR LOVE—At the battle of Dresden, three days ago, I had my two legs carried off by a cannon ball. That scoundrel Bonaparte is always fortunate. The amputation was performed as well as possible. Though the army has made a retrograde movement, it is not at all the consequence of defeat, but from a want of *ensemble*, and in order to get nearer to general Blucher.

“Excuse my scrawl. I love and embrace you with all my heart. Rapatel will finish.\*

“V. M.”

He died on the 2d of September.

\* The publication of this letter is, we think, much to be regretted. The coarse manner in which it speaks of Bonaparte, however well merited, is neither becoming the dignity of Moreau's character, nor suitable to the situation in which he wrote. Resentment should find no place in the breast of a dying hero, neither should arrogance or vanity; both of which, though entirely foreign from the character of Moreau, appear in that part of the letter, which ascribes his death to the continued good fortune of Bonaparte. It was perhaps natural, and certainly excusable, to express such feelings in a communication, intended solely for his wife. A little reflection, would have enabled her to perceive that they ought not to be made public.

We are inclined to think, however, in excuse, both for the writer and publisher of this letter, that the term “scoundrel” in the translation, is stronger, or rather coarser than the original would warrant. The French term probably, for we have not yet seen the original letter, was “*ce quex de Bonaparte*,” which would mean “that wretch Bonaparte,” or “that rascal Bonaparte.” The word “scoundrel,” we apprehend, conveys a stronger meaning than either of these; and answers to the French word “*scelerat*.”

Having adverted to this letter, we are led to present our readers with a short notice, which we think will be agreeable to them, of the person mentioned in it, under the name of *Rapatel*. This is col Rapatel, who served under Moreau, as his principal and favourite *aid-de-camp* in his latter cam-

The emperor Alexander, in his own hand, wrote to madame Moreau a letter, of which the following is a translation. It does honour to the head and heart of the writer.

“MADAME—When the dreadful misfortune which befel general Moreau, close at my side, deprived me of the talents and experience of that great man, I indulged a hope, that, by care, we might still be able to preserve him to his family, and to my friendship. Providence has ordered it otherwise. He

pains, and following his fortunes in his exile, came with him to this country. He resided some years in this city and its neighbourhood, where he was well known and much esteemed.

Colonel Rapatel was born at Rennes, the son of the chief surgeon of the king at that place. His father died at the commencement of the revolution, leaving ten children of whom seven joined the army. The colonel, while yet a very young man, attracted the notice of general Moreau.

Honour, frankness, courage, and a manly independence of mind, were the distinguished traits in the character of col. Rapatel, and the foundation of all his conduct through life. These qualities of his heart gained him the esteem and friendship of all who knew him. His warm attachment for his general, and his profound detestation of the tyrant, induced him to follow Moreau to this country, and voluntarily to unite in his exile. Here he resided a number of years, and was some time an inhabitant of Baltimore. Influenced by the honourable motive of making himself independent, he, here, industriously pursued an honest though humble occupation in life. He afterwards, in the character of a supercargo, made an unsuccessful voyage. When the prospect of the emancipation of France from the yoke of the Corsican usurper first dawned on his mind, his love for his native country, and the desire of contributing to effect her freedom, hurried him from the United States in the year 1812; and in the same year, he placed himself under the standard of the *magnanimous chief* who has broken the chains of despotism in France, and restored peace to the continent of Europe.

Colonel Rapatel embarked at New-York, and sailed from the United States with M. Poletica, of the Russian legation, a gentleman of distinguished literary and political science. With this gentleman his companion, he proceeded to Stockholm, where he had an interview with the crown prince of Sweden, and there he wrote a letter to a friend in Baltimore, dated 26th August, 1812, from which the following extract is made, as characteristic of the writer, and to show the estimation in which he was held by the crown prince.

#### EXTRACT.

“My prospects are flattering, my dear friend. I have been well received by the Russian minister here, who has just made a treaty of peace with England. I have seen Bernadotte, and have had a conversation of an hour with him. I have found him here to be the same I have known him to have been elsewhere. I have been received by him with the same frank

died as he lived, in the full vigour of a strong and steady mind. There is but one remedy for the great miseries of life—that of seeing them participated. In Russia, madame, you will find these sentiments every where; and if it suit you to fix your residence there, I will do all in my power to embellish the existence of a personage, of whom I make it my sacred duty to be the consoler and the support. I entreat you, madame, to rely upon it irrevocably; never to let me be in ignorance of any circum-

ness and friendship with which he distinguished me when in France. He has had the talent to preserve for himself the esteem of all, both the inhabitants of this country and strangers, who consider him as one of the first instruments to put down the pride of *the great man*, and perhaps to cause his entire downfall—so may it be—we have great cause \* \* \* \* \*

“The crown prince has promised to speak in my behalf to the emperor of Russia, with whom he is to have an interview at Abo; and he advises me to proceed to that place, where, he says, we shall further confer together, and where he desires himself to present me to the emperor. You see I have reason to hope, and if I make no more enemies here than I have made wherever I have been, I trust I shall be successful. Jealousy may pursue me, but I will, by my conduct, endeavour to impose silence on it. Let them only give me an opportunity. I have much to say to you, but the time is not yet arrived; you will, however, hear from me, wherever I may be.

“The French have retired eighty wersts, and the Russians have advanced fifty. The army of Valachia and Moldavia, 50,000 strong have formed a junction with the corps of general Tormasoff. Oudinot and Macdonald have been completely defeated. It is not known where the first is, and we are ignorant where may be the fourth general of the great man. It is great consolation for all Frenchmen, that it is here as in England, that I hear complaints made against the monster; against whom they say they make war, and not against the nation. I am ignorant where I shall be employed. I shall to morrow proceed to Abo, where I expect to see the emperor, and without doubt be informed of my destination. If the interview there should not induce Denmark to take part against the common enemy of the world, they can then with propriety blow up Norway—in that case, I shall ask to be employed in the army destined to make that conquest.”

“Adieu my dear friend; be always assured of the sincerity of my friendship, &c

“*Postscript.*—I forgot to remark to you that the *voluntary levy* which the emperor of Russia has asked of the empire, has been so considerable that he has been obliged to send back a part. The young noblemen, and even the women, have raised at their own expense, to support them during the war, a number of corps of cavalry and infantry. A young nobleman, M. de Mamouss, has offered the whole of his fortune to the emperor, provided he secures to him 15,000 roubles during his life. He has offered him 300,000 roubles in crowns, 7000 of his peasants, and the value of 600,000 roubles in diamonds. The emperor thanked him, and would accept only of

stance in which I can be of any use to you, and to write directly to me always. To meet your wishes will be a pleasure to me. The friendship I vowed to your husband exists beyond the grave; and I have no other means of showing it, at least in part, towards him than by doing every thing in my power to insure the welfare of his family. In these sad and cruel circumstances, accept, madame, these marks of friendship, and the assurance of my sentiments.

“ALEXANDER.

“*Toplitz.*”

the tenth part. This illustrious example of patriotism merits a place on the page of history.—Again adieu.”

Col. Rapatel was introduced to the emperor Alexander by the crown prince, and immediately joined the Russian army, having received the commission of colonel before he left the United States. The confidence and kindness which the emperor of Russia heaped upon him, even before the arrival of general Moreau, prove the esteem which he inspired. These letters to his friend in Baltimore, exhibit the grateful sense in which the attentions of the great and good Alexander were estimated by him. Other interesting details in relation to him, and the death of general Moreau, are to be found in the publication of Mr Svinine's details of general Moreau. This little work is from the pen of a gentleman who accompanied general Moreau to Europe, and remained with him until the time of his death.

At the moment when all the patriotic emotions of poor Rapatel's enthusiastic heart were about to be consummated equal to his wishes, when his labours and sufferings in “the good cause,” were to meet their reward, he, like his general, was prostrated. He died in the act of exerting every effort to stop the effusion of human blood—of the blood of his misguided countrymen, who still defended the despot's remnant power.

Colonel Rapatel was killed in the affair near *Fere Champenoise*, on the 25th March, 1814. A French column was separated, surrounded and attacked on all sides; as it seemed disposed to make an obstinate and fruitless resistance, which must have led to its destruction, col. Rapatel, with a flag, galloped forward to try whether he could not induce it to capitulate, and while thus advancing, was killed by a chance shot. He fell much lamented by the whole allied army, and was particularly noticed in the dispatches of viscount Cathcart, of Lord Burghersh, and lieutenant general Sir Charles Stewart, and by the latter with most distinguished respect.—“I have,” says lieutenant general Charles Stewart, in his dispatch to the English government, of the 26th of March, “to report the death of colonel Rapatel, who was going up to one of the columns with a flag of truce. The loss of an officer so much and so justly beloved in this army, from his attachment to general Moreau, his excellent qualities, and his devotion to the good cause, has occasioned a general regret.”

This biographical sketch was, in substance, written by the publisher of this work, shortly after the death of col. Rapatel, with whom he was well acquainted, and it was then communicated to the public through the medium of our gazettes.

The emperor Alexander, when in this country, paid a visit to madame Moreau. He remained with her near one hour and a half, and, when retiring, said to her, that he had granted to her, 100,000 roubles, to be paid to her on her receipt at his bank, 40,000 ditto a year, the rank of Dame du Portrait, Order of St. Catharine; also 6000 roubles to her daughter, and the title of Demoiselle d'Honneur to the empress.

Although the battle of Dresden terminated to the disadvantage of the allies, their primary object was attained. Napoleon's force was divided into three great armies. The engagements of Jauer, Gross-Beren and Dennivitz, proved disastrous to the French generals; and Lusatia, and the right bank of the Elbe, were soon in the hands of the allies. Oudinot, Ney, Regnier, Bertrand and Vandamme, were, in succession, so totally defeated, that it was not possible for the French reporters to conceal their disasters. The allies now acted every where offensively. Dresden became to him, in some respects, what Wilna was in 1812. Leipzig, an open place, was now of far greater importance to him than Minsk was then. The communications, however, between Dresden and Leipzig were interrupted, and his supplies became more and more precarious; and a large garrison, which it was necessary to reinforce with strong detachments from the main army, was locked up in Leipzig.

The perseverance of the allies, and the skill and bravery of their troops, under the commands of prince Schwartzenberg and general Blucher, had so effectually opposed every attempt of the enemy to penetrate into Bohemia, or to Berlin, that it became evident, that to continue longer in Dresden would involve his utter ruin. Indeed his retreat was now too late determined upon. He was obliged to commence it in the midst of an immense

quadrangle, which the allies formed about him. He could not, however, yet determine to give up Dresden, but left there a considerable army, which had the effect of weakening himself, to no purpose whatever, in case he should lose a battle. At length, near Leipzig, he was forced into the arduous conflict.

Bonaparte left Dresden on the 7th of October, taking with him the king of Saxony and court. On the 8th, the Bavarians joined the allies, signing a treaty with Austria, by which they were now to act offensively against the French.

On the 11th October, the combined Swedish and Prussian armies crossed the river Saale, in order to get into the rear of Bonaparte; and general Blucher effected a most extraordinary march from his positions before Dresden, and was enabled to cross the Elbe much lower down, and thereby unite in the movements of the crown prince.

On the 16th, the allies attacked the enemy at all points. The 17th was passed in reconnoitering on both sides. On the 18th, dreadful battles were fought on the north and south sides of Leipzig. During the engagement, the Saxon troops went over to the banners of the allies. The loss of the enemy on this day was computed at 40,000 men. On the 19th, Leipzig was taken, with the king of Saxony and his court, 25,000 wounded, the artillery, ammunition, &c. The whole supposed to diminish Bonaparte's force not less than 80,000 men.

Sir Charles Stewart wrote thus from the field of battle :—

“ The collective loss of *one hundred pieces of cannon, sixty thousand men* killed and wounded, and an immense number of prisoners; the desertion of the whole of the Saxon army, also the Bavarian and Wirtemberg troops, consisting of artillery, cavalry and infantry, many generals, among whom are Reg-

nier, Vallery, Brune, Bertrand and Lauriston, are some of the first fruits of this glorious day. The capture, by assault, of the town of Leipzig this morning, the magazines, artillery, stores of the place, with the king of Saxony, all his court, the garrison and rear-guard of the French army, all the enemy's wounded, (the number of which exceeds *thirty thousand*) the narrow escape of Bonaparte, who fled from Leipzig at nine o'clock, the allies entering at eleven; the complete *deroute* of the French army, who are endeavouring to escape in all directions, and who are still surrounded, are the next objects for exultation."

And lord Cathcart——

"The extent of the result of this important day cannot yet be ascertained. Near half a million of soldiers fought in this battle, probably one of the most extensive and most generally engaged that ever took place, at least in modern history.

"The presence of the sovereigns have certainly a most animating effect on their armies. All have behaved well; the Austrians have had a full share, and many of their generals have been wounded. The field-marshal prince Schwartzenberg received the grand cross of Maria Theresa from the hands of his imperial master, and that of the first class of St. George from the emperor Alexander.

"General Barclay de Tolly is created a count.

"This is the eighth general action, seven of them commanded by the ruler of France, in which I have seen the emperor Alexander in the field at the head of his army; as usual, unmindful of personal danger, he approached every column, animating the officers and men by his presence and example, and, by a few energetic words, touching the chords which produce the strongest effects in the minds of Russian soldiers, confidence in the Supreme Being,



resignation to his will, and attachment to their sovereign."

"From a communication made by count Metternich, it appears that the results of the great battles of the 16th, 18th, and 19th, surpass all conception. The number of prisoners already taken is more than forty thousand; every hour adds materially to the amount. On the 20th, the corps which advanced in pursuit of the enemy, took *one hundred and twenty* pieces of artillery. The whole number of cannon amounts to *three hundred*, and *more than one thousand caissons* have fallen into the hands of the allies. The booty taken in this city is immense. The suburbs of the town and the principal gates, are blocked up with carriages, baggage-waggons, and equipages of every description.

"It is impossible to form a notion of the disorder which reigned among the enemy during the flight. Bonaparte quitted the town with considerable difficulty, as all the principal streets were completely impassable from the disorderly mass of fugitives.

"Several thousand bodies have been taken from the river. The streets and high roads heaped with dead bodies, and with wounded, whom it had been found impossible to remove. Twenty-seven generals, at the date of these dispatches, had already been taken."

The entrance of the allies into Leipzig is thus described by an eye-witness :

"As the French commander-in-chief had so precipitately quitted the city, we could no longer doubt the proximity of the enemy to our walls. The fire of the artillery and musquetry in the place, which gradually approached nearer, was a much more convincing proof of this than we desired. The men already began to cut away the traces, in order to save the horses. The bustle among the soldiers augmented. A weak rear-guard had taken

post in Reichel's garden, to keep the allies in check in case they should penetrate into the high road. We thought them still at a considerable distance, when a confused cry suddenly proclaimed that the Russians had stormed the outer Peter's gate, and were coming round from the Rossplatz. The French were evidently alarmed. The Russian jagers came upon them all at once, at full speed, with tremendous huzzas, and fixed bayonets; and discharged their pieces singly, without stopping. I now thought it advisable to quit my dangerous post, and hasten home with all possible expedition. I was informed, by the way, that the Prussians had that moment stormed the Grimma gate, and would be in the city in a few minutes. On all sides was heard the firing of small arms, intermixed at times with the reports of the artillery already playing upon the waggon train in the suburbs. Musquet balls passing over the city wall likewise whizzed through the street; and when I ventured to put my head out of the window, I observed with horror, not far from my house, two Prussian jagers pursuing and firing at some Frenchmen who were running away. Behind them I heard the storm march, and huzzas and shouts of '*Long live Frederick William!*' from thousands of voices. A company of Baden yagers was charged with the defence of the inner Peter's gate. These troops immediately abandoned their post, and ran as fast as their legs would carry them to the market-place, where they halted, and, like the Saxon grenadier guards, fired not a single shot.

"Thus the so long-feared and yet wished-for hour at length arrived. What we should never have expected, after the 2d of May, namely, to see a single Prussian again at Leipzig, was nevertheless come to pass. They had then left us as friends, and by their exemplary conduct had acquired our highest respect. We bore them, as well as the

Russians, in the most honourable remembrance. They now appeared as enemies, whose duty had imposed on them the task of storming the city. Our sons and brothers had fought against them. What might not be our fate? We had not forgotten that which befel Lubeck, seven years before, under similar circumstances. But they were the warriors of Alexander, Francis, Frederick-William and Charles-John; terrible as destroying angels to the foe, kind and generous to the defenceless citizen. As far as the author's knowledge extends, not a single man was guilty of the smallest excess within our walls."—

"It was half past one o'clock when the allies penetrated into the city. The artillery had been but little used on this occasion, and in the interior of the place not at all. Had not the allies shown so much tenderness for the town, they might have spared the sacrifice of some hundreds of their brave soldiers: they employed infantry in the assault, that the city might not be utterly destroyed.

"The booty taken by the allies was immense. The suburbs were crowded with waggons and artillery, which the enemy were obliged to abandon. It was impossible for the most experienced eye to form any kind of estimate of their numbers. The captors left them all just as they were, and merely examined here and there the contents of the waggons.

"All the streets were thronged with the allied troops, who had fought, dispersed, and now met to congratulate one another on the important victory. Soon after the city was taken, the sovereigns made their entry. The people thronged in crowds to behold their august and so long-wished-for deliverers. They appeared without any pomp, in the simplest officer's uniform, attended by those heroes, a Blucher, Bulow, Platow, Barclay de Tolly,

Schwartzenberg, Regnier, Sanders, &c. &c. whom we had so long admired. The acclamations of the people were unbounded; ten thousand voices greeted them with *huzzas* and *vivats*; and white handkerchiefs (symbols of peace) waved from every window. Some few indeed, were too unhappy to take part in the general joy of this memorable day. Never did acclamations so sincere greet the ears of the emperors and kings, as those which welcomed Alexander, Francis, Frederick-William, and Charles-John. They were followed by long files of troops, who had so gloriously sustained the arduous contest under their victorious banners.

“The emperors Alexander and Francis, as well as the crown prince of Sweden, returned early to the army. After the departure of the Prussian monarch, our king set out, under a strong escort of Cossacks, for Berlin, or, as some asserted, for Schwedt.”

On the 29th it was officially reported, that the army of the emperor Napoleon retired with such precipitation, that the advanced guards of the allied armies could scarcely reach it. The route of Gotha, Eisenach and Vach, by which the enemy retired, exhibited traces of the most complete dissolution of that army. The number of dead bodies on the route increased from day to day. Thousands of soldiers, exhausted by hunger and fatigue, fell behind; and the greater part died, before they could be carried to an hospital. All the woods, for an extent of many miles on both sides of the route, were filled with fugitives, and sick and abandoned soldiers. Every where the enemy left cannon and carriages; he buried his artillery, or threw it into the rivers. According to the unanimous declaration of the brave warriors who made the last campaign in Russia, the road by which the enemy retired presented the same aspect as that from Moscow to Berezina.

On the 25th October, Napoleon arrived at Erfurth, from whence he continued his retreat towards France by way of Frankfort on the Maine. The Bavarian army under general Wrede, which had marched with all possible expedition to Hanau, a few miles in advance of Frankfort, endeavoured to arrest his progress; but, being unsupported, was not able to resist the masses brought by Bonaparte, who, with the loss of between 20 and 30,000 men killed, wounded, and left behind, cut his way through. The following is an extract from the official report of this affair.

“On the 30th of October, general Wrede made a reconnoissance; and having ascertained that Bonaparte, who was approaching, had still from 60 to 80,000 men, while his own force in consequence of having sent out large detachments, was only 30,000 men in front of Hanau, he determined to impede the retreat which he could not wholly prevent. Having made the necessary dispositions, he was attacked by Bonaparte in person, who brought up one hundred and eighty pieces of cannon, to compel him to give way. In this object Napoleon failed, as the combined army retained possession of the field of battle until the night, when the left wing was withdrawn behind Hanau. The enemy then commenced his retreat, and, to cover it, attempted to carry Hanau by assault. To spare the town from bombardment, general Wrede withdrew the garrison on the morning of the 31st of October; but the French having, on their entrance, began a general pillage, the allied army recovered it by assault, but with the loss of its commander-in-chief, Wrede, who was supposed to be mortally wounded in the attack. This irreparable loss so incensed the Austro-Bavarian troops, that they put every Frenchman in the town to the sword. The loss of the allies was computed to be seven thousand killed and wounded;

that of the enemy was fifteen thousand killed and wounded. The greatest part of the latter perished in the wood of Lamprier, the rapidity with which the enemy effected his retreat not having permitted him to carry them off. The road from Hanau to Frankfort was covered with dead bodies, dead horses, and dismounted ammunition waggons. Fugitives were taken upon all the roads; and, besides those already enumerated, fifteen thousand had been brought in who were unable to keep up with the army. Among them were two generals and two hundred and eighty officers.

On the 31st October, the emperor Alexander's head-quarters were at Melrichstadt; on the 1st November, at Micherstadt, and at Heldershiem, on the 2d. The grand army continued the march of its columns on Frankfort.

The emperor Alexander made his entry into the city of Frankfort on the Maine at noon, on the 8th of November, at the head of the horse-artillery, and about fifty squadrons of the cavalry of the Russian imperial guard and reserve, and some squadrons of the Prussian guards, amidst the loudest acclamations of many thousand inhabitants. His imperial majesty stopped near the quarter prepared for him, to see his cavalry pass, which they did in the most perfect parade order, after a march of one hundred English miles, (cantoning and cantonments included) which they performed in forty-eight hours. On the following day the emperor of Austria arrived. The emperor of Russia met his imperial and royal apostolic majesty at some distance from Frankfort; and both sovereigns proceeded to the cathedral, where divine service was performed, and *Te Deum* sung. Napoleon escaped from the Cossacks and his other pursuers, and carried the remains of his guards and some other corps to the left bank of the Rhine.

The possession of the fortress at Erfurth was the great instrument by which the retreat of the enemy

was affected. It was thought possible he would make a stand behind this post ; while, on the contrary, he redoubled his speed ; and having possession of the best road, while the cross roads by which the allies endeavoured to intercept him were scarcely passable, he gained several marches.

The Emperor remained but a short time at Frankfurt proceeding from thence by way of Darmstadt, Raastadt and Frybourg, to Freybourg in Brisgau, where he arrived on the 22d of December. Here his imperial majesty was received by the emperor of Austria ; and this being the birth day of Alexander, the same was celebrated by Divine worship, and a dinner at the imperial head-quarters, at which the emperor Francis was present.

The Austrian forces about this time crossed the Rhine, at Schaffhausen, Basle and intermediate places, proceeding on their march towards the frontiers of France ; other armies, at the same time, passed the Rhine at Dusseldorff and Coblentz ; the whole force amounting at least to 300,000 men ; and the route which they took, through Franche Comte and Lorraine, the most vulnerable part of France. The emperor Alexander, with the last of his reserves, crossed the Rhine at Basle on the 13th of January, the anniversary of his crossing the Niemen (the extreme boundary of his empire) in pursuit of the French who had presumed to invade him. On this occasion all means were taken to impress on the minds of the Russians, that the two events were interwoven together by the hands of Providence : the formal passage of the sacred river was not effected by the Czar until the auspicious day ; an appeal to the God of Hosts preceded the undertaking. Heaven itself seemed thus to the Russians to have opened the way to national revenge ; and the same enthusiasm by which their country was saved, continued to excite their bravery in the cause of Europe at 1500 miles from their native land.

The emperor issued the following address to the army :

“Soldiers! your courage and your discipline have brought you from the Oka to the Rhine; and the same qualities shall still lead you onward. Having now passed the Rhine, we have entered on a country against which we are to wage an obstinate war. Already have we delivered our native soil, and restored to freedom the greatest part of subjugated Europe; what yet remains to perfect that which we have undertaken, is the acquisition of peace. Our desire is, that tranquillity may be regained by every nation, and that each state may be re-established in its former happy government; that in all countries, the general welfare of the people and the service of God may be promoted; and that arts, manufactures and commerce, may again flourish. This is our wish; and to attain it, we have prolonged the war. When the enemy invaded our territories, his crimes occasioned to us much misery; but the wrath of God has visited him. Do not let us imitate his example; but let us forget the sufferings we have endured from his enmity, and extend towards him the hand of friendship and the olive of peace. The effulgence of Russian glory will be conspicuous in such a conquest over ourselves as well as our enemy. The religion that we cherish in our hearts commands us to forgive our enemies, and to do good to them that persecute us. Soldiers! I am firmly persuaded, that, by your proper behaviour in an enemy’s country, you will gain the affections of those whom you conquer by your valour. Remember, that, by temperance and discipline, and Christian love, you will best promote the end we have in view, which is universal peace. I am satisfied that you will dutifully obey all the regulations that shall be made for the direction of your conduct, since you must be convinced that



they have for their motive both the general good and your own happiness."

On entering Switzerland, prince Schwartzenberg issued the following order of the day :

"Soldiers! we set foot on the Swiss territory; it is as friends, as deliverers, that we appear in this country. Your conduct will be conformable to this principle. Prove to the brave Swiss, that the Austrian warriors are as well acquainted with the duties which they have to fulfil in passing through a friendly country, and the respect due to the inhabitants, as with the qualities which in a day of battle lead to glory and victory. If the direction of the war renders it necessary to expose you to painful marches in this rigorous season, do not forget, soldiers, that the question now is to finish gloriously what you have begun with so much honour; and that greater difficulties, greater dangers, than what you now meet with, have been already vanquished; in short, that it is from your valour, and from your perseverance, that your country, and the whole world, expect a glorious and a durable peace."

The allied sovereigns also declared, by a note to the landamman of Switzerland, their determination not to acknowledge a nominal neutrality; and pledging themselves not to lay down their arms, before they insured to the republic those places which France had torn from it, and released it from foreign influence, without interfering with its constitution.

The troops which entered Switzerland were all Austrians: they observed the strictest discipline in their passage through the country, and were received with the utmost enthusiasm by the inhabitants. This was universally the case, wherever the allied troops penetrated into the French territory. It was already easy to discover, that the power of Napoleon had been shaken to its foundation; and that the

desire of peace, and the despair of any successful stand against the force the allies were now pouring into their country, disposed even the French themselves to view their successful progress with satisfaction.

There were not however wanting, among his enemies, those who, imposed upon by the false glare of his military character, would, at this moment, have been contented to sheath the sword, and leave the usurper still in possession of a power he had so misused.

The magnanimity and moderation of Alexander and his allies, which sought only the deliverance of Europe, and its security for the future, proposed no terms to the conquered beyond the attainment of these objects. But these were inconsistent with his ambitious projects, and he could not willingly relinquish the hope of regaining the height from which he had fallen.

The allies were, therefore, compelled to pursue the contest ; at the same time declaring, in the face of all Europe, the justice of their cause, the moderation of their own views, and the unaccountable pretensions of Napoleon, who was now held up as the only obstacle to the peace of the world.

On the 1st of February an engagement was fought, which lord Burghersh in his dispatch calls the battle of La Rothiere ; the French, that of Brienne. The troops immediately engaged on both sides amounted to seventy or eighty thousand men. The whole of the allied corps were placed, as a particular mark of confidence, under the command of marshal Blucher ; and Bonaparte commanded the French in person. The engagement commenced at twelve o'clock. The emperor of Russia, the king of Prussia, and field-marshal prince Schwartzberg, were on the ground. Both armies occupied extended positions. The most obstinate resistance

was experienced at the village of La Rothiere, where Bonaparte led the young guards in an attack, and had a horse shot under him. At twelve at night, victory crowned the valour of the allied troops, and their skilful combinations and movements of the commanders. The enemy, defeated at all points, retreated in two columns upon Lesmont, Leiswotut, and Ronay. His loss, which could not be ascertained, was supposed to be immense. Seventy-three pieces of cannon, and four thousand prisoners, were taken by the allies. The prince royal of Wirtemberg and general Wrede pursued the enemy in his retreat, and general Guilay took Lesmont by assault. The result of the battle was the immediate advance of the allies.

Upon the march of the emperor to Vesoul, he met an officer, sent by marshal Blucher, with the keys of the town of Nancy. He immediately sent two of the keys to the king of Prussia, reserving two for himself, with an appropriate message, which shewed the anxious attention and consideration that existed between the allied sovereigns.

Between the first and twentieth of February, several other sanguinary battles were fought, and the head quarters of the grand army were now at Troyes, in the heart of France.

On the 22d, a plan of operations, similar to those pursued with so much success before Dresden, was concerted between the two commanders-in-chief, prince Schwartzenberg and general Blucher, in consequence of which the former fell back with the grand army from Troyes, which was immediately entered by Bonaparte.

In the mean time marshal Blucher crossed the Marne, in order to effect a junction with Winzingerode, Bulow, and Woronzow. On the 27th, Bonaparte quitted Troyes to pursue him.

On the 28th, prince Schwartzenberg again advanced, and defeated marshal Oudinot, between Bar-sur-Seine and Troyes, taking ten pieces of cannon, and 3000 prisoners. Troyes again surrendered to the allies by capitulation. The allies then advanced to Nogent.

The negotiations, which had been carried on by the plenipotentiaries of the belligerents at Chatillon, were now broken off.

Consistent with the plan agreed upon with prince Schwartzenberg, the Prussian chief retreated before Bonaparte, upon the reinforcements which were marching to join him from the north of France. On the 3d of March he was joined by Bulow and Winzingerode; and, being now at the head of near 90,000 men, he determined to make a stand, and give battle. The first halt he made was at Soissons, where he was attacked for two successive days by the whole French force, without effect. They gave up the attempt on the afternoon of the 6th; and, crossing the Aisne at Berry, they assaulted the left of Blucher's army at Craone, where Bonaparte, by his old manœuvre of bringing his entire army to bear upon a small portion of his adversary's, obtained a momentary advantage, which rendered it necessary for the Prussian general to retrograde towards Laon, where he took up a position, which appears to have been admirably adopted to the operation he had in view. On the 9th, the left of the allies, commanded by generals D'Yorke, Kleist and Sacken, were attacked by the French, directed by Bonaparte in person. Some ground was lost at the onset; but, at the village of Atheis, the possession of which would have almost insured him victory, he was checked through the vigilance of the veteran, who foreseeing the event, had dispatched a sufficient force to this point, under the command of prince William of Prussia. The scale was now

turned. The French were routed and vigorously pursued on the Rheims road as far as Corbeny. The three generals continued the pursuit during the night of the 9th, and on the 10th and 11th, taking prisoners and cannon at every step. On the morning of the 10th, they had taken four thousand prisoners, an immense quantity of ammunition and baggage, and forty-five pieces of cannon. On the 12th the allies a second time entered Rheims, and three thousand more prisoners were added to those already taken; the right division of the French army, which, it is said, was under the command of Marmont after Bonaparte had quitted it.

We now turn to the French left, which advanced to the attack by the *chaussee* leading from Soissons to Laon. On the morning of the 9th, the enemy were at first favoured by a thick fog, which enabled them to arrive almost under the walls of the latter place. He had occupied the villages of Semilly and Ardon, from both which he was repeatedly driven by BULOW and WORRONZOW: but still no decisive advantages were gained in this quarter, either on the one side or on the other, on the first day. The conflict continued during the whole of the 10th. The enemy even advanced against Semilly, close under the walls of Laon. General Bulow, now, by a desperate attack after sun-set, decided the fate of the day, and the enemy retired in disorder. Seventy pieces of cannon, and between five and six thousand prisoners, were taken.

Disappointed in his efforts against Blucher, Bonaparte attempted to debouch from Arcis-sur-Aube; but here he was successfully attacked by the prince royal of Wirtemberg, with the 3d, 4th and 6th corps of the allied army. The attack was resisted with great obstinacy by the enemy; who, after sustaining an immense loss in killed and wounded, was compelled to abandon Arcis, closely followed by the

allies. The French emperor, having failed in this attempt, was compelled to abandon his idea of attacking prince Schwartzenberg in the position he had taken at Menil-la-Contesse. He next attempted to prevent the junction of the prince and marshal Blucher, or to force their union and their communications as far to the rear, and to make it as circuitous as possible. Intercepted letters also disclosed it to be Bonaparte's opinion, that the movement he determined on to the right of prince Schwartzenberg might induce him to fall back toward the Rhine for fear of losing his communications; and that thus he would be able to relieve his places, and be in a better situation to cover Paris.

The allies, however, having crossed to the right of the Aube, on the 22d, lost no time in adopting the bold resolution of forming the junction of the two armies to the westward; thus placing themselves between the French army and Paris, and proceeding with an united force of at least two hundred thousand men, to the capital of the French empire.

The combined army marched in three columns to Fere Champenoise on the 25th. All the cavalry of the army formed the advance. On the morning of the 25th, the sixth corps, under general Reuske, fell in with the enemy's advance, and drove them back to Connantre, and through Fere Champenoise: in the former place, a large number of caissons, waggons and baggage, were taken. In the mean time, on the left, the Russian cavalry of the reserves, under the grand-duke Constantine, was equally successful; charging the enemy, and taking eighteen cannon, and many prisoners. But the principal brilliant movement of this day occurred after the allied troops had passed through Champenoise. A detached column of the enemy, of five thousand men, had been making its way, under the protection

of Marmont's corps, from the neighbourhood of Montmirail to join Napoleon with his grand army. The corps had in charge an immense convoy, with one hundred thousand rations of bread and ammunition, and was of great importance by the force attached to it. Upon intelligence being received by marshal Blucher of their position, generals Kort and Basitschikoff's corps were immediately detached after them, and they were driven upon Fere Champeoise as the cavalry of the grand army were advancing. Some attacks of the cavalry were made upon this corps; who formed themselves into squares, and defended themselves in the most gallant manner, although they were young troops and *gardes nationales*, when they were completely surrounded by the cavalry of both armies. Some officers were sent to demand their surrender; but they still kept marching and firing, and did not lay down their arms: a battery of Russian artillery opened upon them, and renewed charges of cavalry completed their destruction. The generals Ames and Pathod, generals of division, five brigadiers, five thousand prisoners, and twelve cannon, with the convoy, fell into the hands of the allies.

Colonel Rapatel was shot going up to one of the columns with a flag of truce. The loss of this officer, so much and so justly beloved by the allied army, from his attachment to general Moreau, his excellent qualities, and devotion to the good cause, occasioned a general regret.

The passage of the Marne at Meaux was effected by the sixth corps with little resistance. A part of marshal Mortier's corps, under the immediate command of the French general Vincent, who retired through the above place, broke the bridge in his retreat, and detained the allies in their advance.

About ten thousand of the national guards, mixed with some old soldiers, made a feeble resistance to

the progress of the Silesian army, between La Ferte, Jouarre, and Meaux; but general Horne attacked them, and placing himself gallantly at the head of some squadrons, he pierced into a mass of infantry, taking, himself, the French general prisoner.

The French, on their retreat from Meaux, caused a magazine of powder, of immense extent, to be blown up, without the slightest information to the inhabitants of the town, who thought themselves, by the monstrous explosion, buried in the ruins of the place; not a window in the town but what was shattered to pieces, and great damage was done to all the houses, and to the magnificent cathedral.

Different bridges were constructed on the Marne, to enable the grand army to file over in various columns; and the whole pursued their march, with very little interruption, towards the capital of the French empire.

The enemy's army, under the command of Joseph Bonaparte, aided by marshals Mortier and Marmont, was found to occupy with their right the heights of Fontenoy, Romainville, and Belleville, and their left on Montmartre. They had also constructed several redoubts in the centre; and on the whole line was an immense artillery of one hundred and fifty pieces.

In order to attack this position, the Silesian army was directed on Montmartre, St. Dennis, and the village of La Vilette and Pantin; while the grand army, on the enemy's right, on the heights of Fontenoy and Belleville.

The serene highness prince Eugene of Wirtemberg's division of the 6th corps commenced the attack; and, after some loss, carried the heights of Romainville, the enemy retiring to those of Belleville and Fontenoy.

Generals D'York and Kliest, with their corps of the Silesian army, debouched near St. Denis on Au-



beville. A strong redoubt and battery of the enemy's in the centre, kept general D'Yorke's corps in check for some part of the day; but the right flank being gained by the heights of Romainville, as well as their loss in every part of the field, and, finally, the complete discomfiture on all sides, reduced them to the necessity of sending a flag of truce, to demand a cessation of hostilities, they giving up all the ground without the barrier of Paris, till further arrangements could be made. The heights were placed in the hands of the allies at the moment when count Langeron's corps was about to storm them, and had already taken possession of the rest of the hill.

His imperial majesty the emperor of Russia, the king of Prussia, (who were present in all the actions) and prince Schwartzemberg, with that humanity which must excite the applause, while it calls for the admiration of all Europe, acceded to a proposition to prevent the capital from being sacked and destroyed.

Count Par, aide-de-camp to the prince field-marshal, and colonel Orloff, aid-de-camp to his majesty the emperor, were sent to arrange the terms for a cessation of hostilities.

The following interesting account of the entrance of the allied sovereigns into Paris, is chiefly extracted from the dispatches of lord viscount Cathcart and sir Charles Stewart, dated Paris, March 31.

The emperor Alexander, with the king of Prussia, marched into Paris on the morning of the 31st, when they were received by all ranks of the population with the warmest acclamations. The windows of the best houses were filled by well-dressed persons, waving white handkerchiefs, and clapping their hands; the populace, intermixed with many of a superior class, were in the streets, pressing forward to see the emperor, and to endeavour to touch

his horse. The general cry was, "*Vive L'empereur Alexander !*" "*Vive notre Libérateur !*" "*Vive le Roi de Prusse !*" Very many persons appeared with white cockades, and there was a considerable cry of "*Vive Louis XVIII !*" "*Vivent les Bourbons !*" which gradually increased. Their imperial and royal majesties proceeded to Champs Elysees, where a great part of the army passed in review before them, and, as usual, in the most exact order. The national guards themselves cleared the avenues for the allied troops to pass through, in all the pomp of military parade, the day after a severe action. The people of Paris, whose political sentiments have at all times been manifested by the strongest indication, were unanimous in their cry for peace, and a change of dynasty, enjoying the spectacle of the entry into the capital of France of an invading army as a blessing and a deliverance. A rope was placed round the statue of Napoleon on the Colonne de la Grande Armée ; and the people amused themselves with pulling it, and crying, "*A bas le Tyran !*" Sir Charles Stewart says, that upon the entrance of the allied sovereigns, the crowd was so enormous, as well as the acclamations so great, that it was difficult to move forward ; but, before the monarchs reached the Porte de St. Martin to turn on the Boulevards, there was a moral impossibility of proceeding. All Paris seemed to be assembled and concentrated on one spot ; one *animus* or spring evidently directed all their movements ; they thronged in such masses round the emperor and king, that, with all their condescending and gracious familiarity, extending their hands on all sides, it was in vain to attempt to satisfy the populace. They were positively eaten up amidst the cries of "*Vive L'empereur Alexander !*" "*Vive le Roi de Prusse !*" "*Vivent nos Libérateurs !*" The clamorous applause of the multitude was seconded by a similar

demonstration from all the houses along the line to the Champs Elysees ; and handkerchiefs, as well as the fair hands that waved them, seemed in continued requisition. In short, to have an idea of such a manifestation of electric feeling as Paris displayed, it must have been witnessed.

The following declaration was now issued by his majesty the emperor Alexander :

“ The armies of the allied powers have occupied the capital of France. The allied sovereigns receive favourably the wish of the French nation.

“ They declare, that if the conditions of peace ought to contain stronger guarantees when the question was to bind down the ambition of Bonaparte, they may be more favourable when, by a return of a wise government, France herself offers the assurance of this repose.

“ The sovereigns proclaim, in consequence, that they will no more treat with Napoleon Bonaparte, nor with any of his family.

“ That they respect the integrity of ancient France, as it existed under its legitimate kings : they may even do more, because they profess it as a principle, that, for the happiness of Europe, France must be great and strong.

“ That they will recognise and guarantee the constitution which France shall adopt. They therefore invite the senate to name immediately a provisional government, which may provide for the wants of the administration, and prepare a constitution which shall suit the French people.

“ The intentions which I have just expressed are common to all the allied powers. “ALEXANDER.”

On the 2d of April, the emperor gave audience to the senate, who came to present the result of their deliberations as to the plan of their future government. After having received the homage of this body—

“A man, who called himself my ally,” said the emperor Alexander, “entered my dominions as an unjust aggressor; it is against him I have made war, not against France. I am the friend of the French people; what you have just done redoubles this sentiment: it is just, it is wise, to give to France wise and liberal institutions, which may be conformable to the present state of knowledge. My allies and myself come only to protect the liberty of your decisions.”

The emperor stopped a moment; then his majesty continued, with the most affecting emotion—

As a proof of the durable alliance which I mean to contract with your nation, I restore to it all the French prisoners which are in Russia\*; the provisional government had already asked this of me; I grant it to the senate, in consequence of the resolutions which it has taken to-day.”

The senate withdrew, penetrated with sentiments of gratitude and of the highest admiration.

The abdication of Bonaparte, and the restoration of the Bourbons, which immediately took place, formed the glorious close of the series of extraordinary events of which we have given a rapid sketch in the preceding pages of this memoir; each of them succeeding the other in such quick and regular succession, and with such increase of importance, that we found neither opportunity or inclination, to interrupt the connection of the narrative by any observations of our own.

We have now arrived, with the illustrious subject of this memoir, at an epoch in the history of his glorious career the most splendid that ever historian recorded—the epoch of Europe delivered from a tyranny that, until the very moment of its downfall, exhibited no signs of decay: and we have no hesi-

\* The number of these prisoners amounted to near 200,000 men.

tation in asserting, that to the fortitude, perseverance, and magnanimity of the emperor Alexander, the glory of the conquest is due ; that he has been the agent appointed by Providence to restore peace to the world, and by the sword to destroy the power of the MAN OF THE SWORD.

We shall now take a retrospective view of the campaigns of 1812 and 1813 ; and endeavour to show, that the policy of the emperor has always been conformable to the liberal principles he has ever professed, and which we have assumed to have guided him from the earliest period of his public life.

We have been very careful to preserve all the proclamations and public papers issued by the emperor, from the INVASION OF RUSSIA TO THE FALL OF PARIS, not only as most eloquent appeals to public virtue, but as the most authentic evidences of the power and influence a cause derives from the justice of its character. These papers will also serve as land-marks to lead our judgment through the labyrinth of state policy, and thus enable us correctly to unravel its intricacies, and discover the real object in view.

The emperor Alexander has been ever remarkable for his openness and candour ; his proclamations and ukases have this character in an eminent degree. It will, however, be observed, that from time to time they assume a loftier tone as his high destiny is developed.

We have, in the preceding pages, ventured to express an opinion, that it was no departure from principle, or that upright policy which alone deserves to succeed, to submit to those unfortunate circumstances which brought about the peace of Presburg, and to retire with dignity from a struggle against gigantic power which must otherwise have been encountered alone and unaided.

The battle of Austerlitz, so fatal to the Austrians and to the good cause, was rather favourable than otherwise to the military character of the Russian army; and the personal efforts of the emperor Alexander endeared him to his soldiers, and inspired them with the best hopes of future glory under his command.

The principles and sentiments of the emperor Alexander were well known to Bonaparte, even in August 1805. The French minister, in the state paper issued by his government, declares, "that Russia, instead of being desirous of peace, finds her interest only in war, and founds on its renovation hopes which she in vain endeavours to conceal. For a twelve month past, the French emperor has received nothing but insults from the Russian cabinet; and being thus attacked in his honour, he has no longer any thing to expect or require of Russia."

On the 31st of August, Alexander caused a declaration to be delivered to the French minister at Vienna, there having been no intercourse with Paris since the war of 1804, which exhibited his fixed and inflexible resolution to recover the states of Europe from French predominance, and to afford them immediate and effectual assistance. For which purpose he caused two armies, of fifty thousand men each, to march through Gallicia to the Danube; and, in the Austrian declaration which immediately followed, the two courts formally declared, in the name of both, "that they were ready to enter into a negotiation with France, for maintaining the peace of the continent, on the most moderate terms which were compatible with the general tranquillity and security.

"That whatever should be the issue of the negotiations, and even should the commencement of hostilities be unavoidable, *they at the same time pledged themselves to abstain from every proceeding tend-*

*ing to interfere with the internal concerns of France; or to alter the state of possession, and the legally existing relations in the German empire; or, in the slightest degree, to injure the rights or interests of the Ottoman Porte, &c; and, finally, that the sentiments of Great Britain were conformable with those just expressed, &c."*

The time, however, was not yet arrived for the good cause to triumph. The irritated passions of men had not yet subsided sufficiently to allow the exercise of right reason; and the imposing character of the conquerer, which, in the civilized world, should have long ceased to influence, paralyzed every generous and humane effort to restore the blessings of peace. The emperor Alexander, however, retired from the contest with dignity, and in an attitude that commanded the respect of the enemy, who was unable to pursue his boasted advantages, which, according to his bulletins, involved the destruction of the Russian empire.

The emperor of the French, whose title was his sword, could not suffer it to lose its force by rest, or the people to question its legitimacy when the splendour of victory no longer dazzled their eyes.

In 1807, therefore, we find the Russian emperor still actuated by the same liberal policy, and bringing all his means to effect the glorious purpose; but again that unfortunate want of general concert, and that blindness to their true interests, before so fatal, divided their force, and rendered of no avail the great exertions now made. The battle of Friedland, seemed to extinguish for ever all hopes of successful resistance to the inordinate ambition of the French emperor.

We now come to the peace of Tilsit—and here we have to notice an extraordinary anecdote, which was passed over in our memoir, as not sufficiently authentic to insert amongst a series of facts.

It has been asserted, the treaty of Tilsit was obtained from the emperor Alexander by a sort of compulsion; that Bonaparte contrived to get the emperor to meet him upon a raft on the Niemen river; that they were alone, and separated from the Russian attendants; and in this situation Bonaparte is said to have detained his imperial majesty until he consented to the terms of the proposed treaty. This is a very improbable story, to say the least of it, and is supported by no good authority whatever. In the French bulletin relating the circumstance of the meeting on the Niemen, it is indeed stated, "that Bonaparte, accompanied by Murat, Berthier, Marshal Bessieres, Duroc and Caulincourt, embarked on the banks of the Niemen in a boat prepared for the purpose. They proceeded to the middle of the river where general Laribois-sieu, commanding the artillery of the guard, had caused a raft to be placed, and a pavilion to be erected upon it; close by it was another raft and pavilion, for their majestys' suites. At the same moment, the emperor Alexander set out from the right bank, accompanied by the grand duke Constantine, general Benningesen, general Ouwaroff, prince Labanoff, and his principal aid-de-camp, count Lieven. The two boats arrived at the same instant; the emperors embraced each other as soon as they set foot on the raft. *They entered together the saloon which was prepared for them, and remained there during two hours.* The conference being ended, the persons composing *the suites of the two emperors were introduced.*" From this statement it is barely possible that the emperor Alexander might have been so separated from his attendants as asserted in the anecdote; but there is nothing to induce us to believe, that he who had so lately shown such bravery in the field of battle, could have been influenced by any sort of fear on this occasion. We



have stated, in our memoir, many circumstances which concurred to induce the emperor to conclude a peace with the French ; and there is nothing in his conduct to be complained of by us, who had already departed from every principle that justified the war, and concluded the peace of Amiens. If political necessity in this case was our justification, it certainly ought to be allowed in behalf of Alexander, who was contending rather for the rights of others than his own.

The next subject for discussion will be the efforts the emperor now made to obtain by negotiation what he had not been able to effect by the sword ; and in England, alone, has his conduct in this instance been objected to, because it happened that his efforts were in concert with our enemy.

It does not appear, however, that, prior to our attack upon Copenhagen, the Russian emperor was inclined to abandon the interests of his ancient ally ; and, flattered as he was by the concessions ostensibly made by Bonaparte in favour of the king of Prussia, wholly in compliment to him, there is every reason to suppose, that the amiable and sincere Alexander expected the same moderation in favour of England ; and it is not improbable that Bonaparte, at this moment, might have been actuated by a sound policy, and would have been contented to consolidate his power, by suppressing, for a period, his ambitious designs.

The doubtful character of our attack on Copenhagen, could not but be offensive to the high minded Alexander. The policy which dictated the measure, was certainly not his : expediency had not yet induced him to sacrifice his principles, especially where his own individual interest demanded the sacrifice.

Although we cannot perceive any departure from principle, in the conduct of the emperor Alexander, in

this instance; we cannot but feel, that his own ingenuous disposition exposed him to the cunning of Bonaparte, and induced him to give a credit to his seeming moderation and desire of peace, and consequently to concur in measures which ultimately proved most disastrous to Europe and himself.

In contemplating the emperor Alexander as the ally of Bonaparte, we confess, it is painful to us to record the fact. We divest ourselves of every prejudice, and feel only for the emperor himself, whose character in this instance was so compromised. We owe it, however, to our readers, to be strictly impartial; we cannot, therefore, withhold those circumstances which show how powerful was the influence of the Corsican at the court of Russia, during this unhappy period. This influence was first made apparent in the declaration of the emperor upon his rupture with this country, in which he appears to be prepared openly to abet the usurpation of the Spanish monarchy, stigmatizing as "*insurrection*" the generous efforts of the Spanish people in behalf of their legitimate sovereign. We cannot find excuse or defence for the weakness that submitted to adopt such principles, so foreign to his heart.

The attack upon Swedish Finland appears to be too much of the character of French policy, to be told by us with any satisfaction. In this act we first discover the necessity to apply to the *expediency* of the measure for its justification; this is not consistent with our morality, we therefore only state the fact.

The next and last circumstance it is our painful duty to record, is the attack of the Russians upon Austria, at the moment Bonaparte was inflicting wounds, never to be healed, on that unfortunate empire. General prince Gallatzin entered Galicia at this time; and, at the peace which was subse-

quently made, the conquered part was annexed to the Russian empire.

These deviations from that disinterested policy which from the first appeared to influence the nobler acts of the emperor of Russia, and which has, from the moment of his rupture with Bonaparte, again been adopted, in situations where less moderation might have been allowed, only serve to prove how unfortunate it is to become in any manner connected with vice.

It would have been better for Europe, and much more advantageous to the character of Alexander, if Moscow had fallen five years earlier; for character is strength; and it was not until all public virtue was prostrate before him, that Bonaparte was able to achieve the subjugation of the continent. He viewed, therefore, with complacency even the aggrandizement of Russia, if derived at the expense of her moral character; perfectly aware that no accession of strength, so derived, could counterbalance the effect of public opinion. We do therefore find in the conduct of Alexander, during the period of his unfortunate alliance with France, a most extraordinary acquiescence in the French system, and an almost blind devotion to the plans of Bonaparte. This conduct involved him in a war with England, and at length subjected the Russian empire to such mischiefs, through the total loss of trade, that the loud cries of the people pierced the ears of their emperor, and his eyes became opened—too late, perhaps, for his own glory, but in time for that of the Russian army, which was destined to effect the deliverance of Europe.

It has already been shown, that the emperor Alexander was, early in 1811, made aware of the designs of Bonaparte, and that every preparation was made throughout Russia to raise an adequate force to repel the threatened invasion. The war with

the Turks was prolonged, to afford ostensible occasion for new levies, and the continued accumulation of military force in different parts of the empire. The people were universally informed that the contest they so much desired was at hand; and the wisest and best men in Russia were selected to serve their country in the hour of trial.

The French emperor was, for the first time, anticipated; and although, aware of this, he had strained every nerve to increase the amount of the invading force, by dragging with him the troops of all his vassal states, still he betrayed an evident fear of the result of a contest with a nation unanimous to defend themselves, loyal to enthusiasm, and of whose bravery he had sufficient experience.

When the emperor Alexander had again drawn his sword against the man who had so diminished his glory, by his alliance, he became *himself* again; and his noble proclamations promised the world much, but not more than he was destined to perform.

Far from exhibiting, however, any sort of arrogance, and not at all anticipating the high destiny to which Providence was about to call him, the independence of Russia and the northern powers was the most that he hoped to achieve, and this only after a struggle which he was prepared to expect would be tremendous and protracted.

All hope of successfully defending their frontier from the invaders being renounced, it was the plan of the Russian commanders to crush them in the bosom of their country: how effectually this was done, our readers must recollect. The visitation of Providence rapidly completed the ruin which had begun to fall on their enemies, in consequence of this plan of attack and retreat; and the magnitude of this ruin opened views to the mind of Alexander, which, while he contemplated with awe, he deter-

mined to pursue. It was therefore, that, having driven the French out of Russia, he refused every offer of peace, and resolved not to sheath his sword until the independence of Germany was recovered.

At this period his views extended no farther ; the Rhine was to be the limit of his victorious march, and rescued Germany his glorious labour. But the time was now come, when the head of usurpation was to be bowed to the ground ; it already drooped, and loud and deep was the voice of the oppressed.

Gigantic as were the efforts of Bonaparte, the good cause now triumphed ; and on the banks of the Rhine the beneficent Alexander was implored to pursue his career of victory, and complete the work he had so happily begun. The Rhine was passed—yet even now the voice of the people was respected by the allies ; and if the French nation had really desired the continuation of the new dynasty, it was not intended to interfere with their internal government ; and the declaration to this effect was issued.

In the mean time, however, the Dutch availed themselves of the opportunity to rise upon their tyrants, and assert their independence ; which was accordingly effected so completely, that the cause of the allies not only was considerably strengthened, but their power to execute new plans greatly increased.

The proceedings in Holland were so sudden, and, if not unexpected, so much earlier than looked for, that the allies found they had, in the spirit of moderation which guided them, offered Bonaparte better terms than they now could execute. The insanity of the Corsican extricated them from this dilemma : and, as we have seen, he preferred to try the chance of war ; but, no longer the “ dar-

ling of victory," his struggles were in vain, and they were closed with the capitulation of Paris.

The moderation of the conquerors, their humanity, and, in particular the mercy of the emperor Alexander, to an enemy who had destroyed the ancient capital of his empire, cannot be sufficiently applauded, and will forever be remembered as an instance of the most heroic forbearance. It is impossible that such a man should have ever acted inconsistent with the noblest principles, but from an error of judgment, and a mistaken view of existing circumstances—a misfortune to which the wisest and best of mankind are subject.

During the stay of the emperor in Paris, all ranks of people were delighted by his affability; and it was said of him, that he took more pains to conquer hearts than kingdoms. His imperial majesty remained but to receive the monarch his arms had restored to the throne of his ancestors.\*

[Our author concludes with a long account in detail of the high honours paid to Alexander during his residence in England. As this is wholly uninteresting to the American reader, it is omitted to give place to the Appendix.]

\* The emperor of Russia, immediately upon his arrival at Paris, rode on horseback to the Thuilleries, examined every thing, and praised the taste with which it was adorned. "I have found France very fine," said his majesty, "but I shall leave it in a much more flourishing condition." Being shown the saloon of peace, he said, "what use could Bonaparte make of this saloon?" When he came to the great gallery of the Museum, he said, "ten days are necessary to see this fine collection." Observing that some pictures were removed, he said "his character must have been quite misunderstood, if any fear had been entertained for the Museum." The monument of the Place Vendome was taken under the protection of the high allied powers; the statue of Bonaparte, at the top of it was to be replaced by that of peace. As the emperor Alexander rode by it, he said, "I should be afraid of becoming giddy, if I stood so high." "Your majesty's arrival at Paris has been long expected and desired," said somebody. "I should have been here sooner," replied the emperor; "attribute my delay to French valour."

## APPENDIX.

*BY PAUL ALLEN, ESQ.*

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THE entry of the allied monarchs into the capital of the French empire, will, undoubtedly, form an important æra in the history of nations. Had the early confederacies formed between the European potentates, for resisting the overbearing arrogance of France, been maintained with that regard to good faith, with that deep and awful sense of common danger, with that firm and settled conviction of the necessity of such an union, from a sense of common security, what dreadful calamities would have been avoided; not only by Europe, but likewise by the whole civilized world! To promote an object so desirable as such an alliance, the English minister, Pitt, was inflexible in his exertions; he bent all the force of his mighty mind to this one object, but these confederacies were formed only to be broken again. Minor jealousies, petty, subordinate, local, sectional interests, dispersed a mighty mass, which, if it had only been composed of solid and durable materials, would have overborne all opposition and have restored quiet and the blessings of peace to a suffering world. The genius of French duplicity, fraud and intrigue, far more formidable in the cabinet, than the bayonets of her soldiers in the field of battle, discovered and inflamed these mutual jealousies amongst the allies. This mighty, formidable, but incoherent mass, became thus dispersed, as by

the touch of an enchanter's wand, while France, profiting by these divisions, converted her enemies into allies by her diplomacy, or into victims by her arms. Here lay the whole strength of that enormous power that threatened so long the repose of the civilized world ; it did not lay, as has often been imagined, in the superior valour and bravery of Frenchmen, but in that organized system of intrigue, for which the cabinet of France has been in all ages so conspicuous. Powerful armies quitted the field without a battle, and strong fortresses and impregnable ramparts were surrendered upon a summons. The allied monarchs did not dream of the extent of the danger to which their kingdoms were exposed, until resistance availed them nothing. And it may seem a little extraordinary, that the popular writers of that day ascribed all the victories of France to the very exertions made by the allies to resist the power of France ; it was triumphantly said that France would not be so formidable if the confederacies abovementioned had never existed ; that they only served to consolidate the power of the enemy, and to bring to the field of battle the whole undivided energies of the nation. It may well be asked, if France was so formidable a power when opposed by such confederacies, what would she have been if no such confederacies had ever existed ? An alliance between the powers of Europe, founded on a strong and impressive sense of their common danger, an alliance in which all selfish, partial and local considerations should be sacrificed to this grand object, was what Mr. Pitt endeavoured to bring about, and he died before he saw its accomplishment. Had this union been formed in the early period of the French revolution, the Spanish monarch would have preserved his crown, and the Russian monarch the superb city of Moscow. Europe was finally disciplined by the French



scourge into a more enlightened policy. She found by bitter and by dear bought experience, the necessity of establishing a strong and solid confederacy. She was lashed into the politics of Pitt. Alexander stood in the front of this confederacy, and the expression may not be deemed too strong, if he is denominated *the deliverer of Europe*.

On the entry of the Russian monarch into Paris, many were prepared to anticipate a repetition of all the horrors which Bonaparte had acted in Moscow. According to the partial testimony afforded by a French historian, the route of the French emperor towards Moscow, was traced by the conflagration of hamlets and of villages. He states one striking fact, that one of the divisions of the French army, on its passage, had destroyed by conflagration, one of the villages, and a shower of snow having fallen in the mean time, not even the ashes were seen by the succeeding division of the army. Not a single mansion was visible but a stone chapel, that had escaped the fury of the flames, where the village clock was heard pealing the midnight hour to the winds of heaven, a monument of the ruthless barbarity of the invaders. From such instances of atrocity, many expected to hear that the emperor of the Russias, would, when in possession of the French capital, demand speedy and ample vengeance. He was followed by a ferocious band of Cossacks, awaiting only his word to retort all these calamities. But how consoling is the spectacle. On the first arrival of the Russian monarch into Paris, he published, in behalf of himself and of his allies, a proclamation, in which he insists only on one indispensable preliminary to a negotiation, that they will hold no correspondence with Napoleon Bonaparte, or with any of his family. They one and all renounce all intercourse with a man who had sported with the sanctity of treaties and whose

tyranny he represents as oppressive to the French people themselves, as to the nations whom he had conquered by his arms. He renounces for himself and in behalf of his allies the name of conquerors; he assures the French people, that they come as their deliverers only; and congratulates them that the time has now arrived, when parents may be allowed to die before their children, which so long as that accursed system of *conscription* was preserved, was a privilege denied to tottering age. He invited the French people to meet and form a government for themselves, which he promised them to guarantee. He did every thing to sooth the wounded pride of a vanquished enemy, and pointed out the blessings of peace, to a nation, which had suffered so much in the midst of their glory.

Hearing that some French officers who had bravely opposed him in the field, had sought security in concealment, the Russian monarch, published a proclamation, in which he repelled, as a libel on his character, the suspicion, that he could possibly be governed by motives so sordid as those of revenge; he told them, that he revered such bravery, too highly to regard it in an enemy in any other light than in that of admiration. At the public theatres or in the public walks, were seen the monarchs of Russia and of Prussia, walking arm in arm without guards and scarcely distinguished from private individuals. Nor were the private moments of Alexander, when disengaged from the important business of the allies, less devoted to the service of humanity. A member of the society of friends, requested an audience with his majesty on the subject of the slave trade. He was received by Alexander, with all that frankness and urbanity that constitute so brilliant a trait in his character. His majesty professed himself a zealous advocate for the emancipation of the blacks, and declared, that no exer-

tions on his part should be wanting to put an end to that abominable traffic ; he testified in the strongest terms, his respect to the religious principles of the friends, and invited on his return to Russia, the correspondence of his visitant. Amidst the many wonderful things with which the present age has abounded, this surely may be regarded as one, that it was reserved for the monarch, as he is sometimes called, of the " snow clad Russ," to teach to Frenchmen humanity and benevolence. The emperor in part of savages, has shown an example, that may well serve to raise a blush on the cheeks of those who have endeavoured to monopolize to themselves the proud and imposing title of exclusive refinement. In opposition to this splendid spectacle, the barbarity of the Cossacks has been presented to our view ; but who looks upon this with more pain than Alexander ? The man who invites men of letters, professors of the sciences and arts, from every part of Europe, to reside in Russia, who dissipates his imperial revenues in establishing schools, colleges and temples, in constructing public roads and canals, inviting by large rewards agriculture, manufactures and commerce, to seek an asylum in the midst of his native snows, and who receives with open arms the missionary, who blows the silver trumpet of salvation ; who exercises his royal prerogative, not by oppressing his subjects, but by tempering the severity of justice with mercy ! Our ancestors were once all savages, and surely it is no reproach to Alexander, that he is now converting his savages into civilized men. It is conceived unnecessary to dwell on those great events which have now become matters of history. We behold the emperor of France renouncing his throne and seeking an asylum in a little island in the Mediterranean, pursued by the execrations of that very people who had sworn eternal fidelity to the family

and to the fortunes of Bonaparte, abandoned by his marshals and all his officers of state, and by those who owed their greatness to his bounty; the conqueror of Europe is exiled from the community of sovereigns and is protected by his enemies from the rage and vengeance of his own subjects. Another spectacle no less astonishing is presented to our view! Louis who for the space of twenty years had remained an exile from his native land, who derived his subsistence from the benevolence of foreign courts, mounts the throne of his ancestors: in the wane of his existence he is called upon to sway a ponderous sceptre; he is compelled to undertake the arduous duty of instructing a people who had been nursed at the bosom of battle, the milder enjoyments of peace, to allay the turbulent passions, and as it were, to remould and to re-organize the nation thus suddenly committed to his charge. He began his career by a declaration of complete amnesty for past offences, by retaining many of the features of the Napoleon system of policy, by mitigating the severity of others, and by establishing a liberal constitution of government, by putting salutary checks and restraints on the exercise of the royal prerogative. Thus in a short space of time, the world was doomed to witness a powerful monarch turned into a solitary exile, and a solitary exile into a powerful monarch. The sovereigns of Europe whose united prowess wrought a change so wonderful, now felicitated themselves that the grand object of their labours was permanently accomplished.

After the expulsion of Bonaparte, from the throne of France, they conceived that nothing now remained to be done, but to secure the advantages which they had gained. That none of the little, minor, and subordinate interests which had so often put in jeopardy the repose of their respective king-

doms and empires might occur again, they assembled in person at Vienna, for an amicable adjustment of these complicated claims. Ministers with full powers were appointed by the respective sovereigns, to discuss, and to settle these important questions by treaty. They in the first place, pledged themselves mutually, to exert all their force against France, if ever such an exertion should become indispensable ; the quantity of physical force, which each was to bring into the field, was stipulated by a joint treaty, and afterwards by separate treaties, they defined the boundaries of their own dominions, so as to leave as little as possible to future contingencies. In all this delicate and complicated machinery, the hand of the Russian monarch was conspicuous : ambition has been laid to the charge of this emperor, and it has been stated that the world has only exchanged one tyrant for another ; that there now exist the same apprehensions of this monarch, as formerly existed of Bonaparte. The vast extent of the territory over which Alexander reigns, has been cited in confirmation of this charge. But where is the evidence, by which this parallel is attempted to be maintained ? where are the treaties not only made and violated, but made only to be violated ? where are the towns and cities laid in ashes ? where do we discover traces of that extirpating ambition, which have marked the career of Bonaparte ? If preparations for war, in time of peace ; if a fortification of Russian sea ports and harbours ; if a strong military force, trained and embodied ; if a progressive increase of the navy, are proofs of ambitious designs, then our own government will participate in the opprobrium attached to such policy. It lies with the assailants of Alexander's reputation to prove such sturdy paradoxes as these ; that mighty potentates are bound by their oath of office to become the prey of the weak ; that

it is criminal in a man to repel assailing force by force, and that self-defence is not allowed by the laws of God and man ; that in case of another war, Alexander would be culpable in not surrendering the city of Moscow a second time to conflagration. If his army is large and formidable, his territory is likewise immense ; he has an empire of no ordinary magnitude to defend : he has orphans, husbands and widows, to defend against all the nations by which his mighty empire is surrounded. When Alexander's forces are put in motion for the purposes of foreign conquest, when he gives crowns, sceptres and diadems away, with prodigal munificence, and then resumes the gifts, then may we endeavor to run a parallel between Alexander and Bonaparte. The practical politician will see in all Alexander's preparations, nothing to alarm him ; he will see the future repose of Europe, placed on a more solid and permanent basis than it has hitherto been ; he will see the truth of what, Washington declared, "*that there is a rank due to Russia, as well as to the United States, amongst the nations of the earth, that will be withheld, if not absolutely lost by the reputation of weakness ;*" he will see that it will be consistent with the soundest pacific policy, always to be in a state of readiness for war. But with a certain class of politicians, monarchs are the only men who are criminal, by gaining wisdom from experience ; they are culpable for providing for the welfare of the millions entrusted to their charge.

The character of Alexander appears the same, both in public and in private ; his public character is nothing more than his private character, expanded on a large and magnificent scale. No sovereign of the present age, has been so conspicuous as Alexander, in the walks of private benevolence. He enters the cottages of his subjects, distinguished only by the mildness, benevolence and humanity of

his deportment, bearing consolation to the afflicted, food for the hungry, and raiment for shivering nakedness. The affable and courteous stranger, is at length discovered to be the monarch of all the Russias. Now is it to be expected, that a man who thus delights in such unostentatious acts of benevolence, should when he resumes his character as a monarch, feel nothing for the collective happiness and security of the millions over whom he sways the sceptre? that he should leave them unprotected, defenceless and exposed to each invading foe? that he should make no preparation to resist force by force, merely because he had the power and the means of ensuring tranquillity to his empire? that he should be deterred from adopting such defensive measures, to escape the odium of those who, tremulously alive as they are with apprehensions from Russia, could discover no danger in the ambition of Bonaparte? This is a weakness, which, it is presumed, will not be laid to the charge of Alexander. He is bound by the same motives as a monarch to strengthen the frontiers of his empire, and to make preparations for war, that he is as a man to visit the abodes of indigence and pain, and bear consolation to the afflicted. After the triumphal entry of the allies into Paris, and the expulsion of Bonaparte from the throne of the Bourbons, the monarchs visited the prince regent. And how poor does human grandeur in its broadest effulgence now appear! The king of the island, which was honoured by the presence of so many illustrious guests, is the only one in his whole kingdom, perhaps, insensible to such honour; the throne is vacant: the sceptre is now an empty bauble, and the rightful possessor of all these regal ornaments, is secluded from public views; he does not advance to meet the royal strangers, and bid them a cordial welcome to his palace: he still inherits the crown; but Divine

Providence, as if to teach to man the emptiness and vanity of worldly ambition, deprives this monarch of his reason ; at once the possessor of a throne, and of a mad house.

It will not be necessary to enter into a minute detail of the various fetes, amusements, shows, spectacles and entertainments devised for the amusement of these royal guests. At a public ball, given in honour of the emperor Alexander, his majesty danced indiscriminately with the daughters of the noblemen, and of the commoners ; and thus showed a just conception of his character, for between the emperor of Russia and the highest nobleman in England, there was the same distance, as there was between his majesty, and the lowest commoner. In the eyes of a foreign prince, all distinction of rank was entirely lost ; the parties were at least so far as regarded him, perfectly upon a level.

And here it may not be improper to record an incident, which although trivial in itself, serves to exhibit the character of Alexander in a very amiable light. A poor English woman, whose son had been by some means or other pressed into the service of the Russian navy, and liberated by the express intervention of the emperor, was anxious to testify her gratitude. But the question was, how was this to be done ? What could she present worthy of the acceptance of so distinguished a personage ! In the overflowings of her maternal gratitude, she presented his majesty with a pair of woollen stockings, which it cannot be doubted, that the emperor regarded with more pride, than he would the most costly present set in diamonds ; it was the free offering of the heart, it was therefore graciously accepted, and the honest widow was munificently rewarded.

The peculiar merit of Alexander, arises from the character that he has acquired since his occupation



of the throne of his ancestors. In his first campaign against Bonaparte, bred up in all the luxuries of a court, how incompetent must he have found himself to endure all the hardships and privations of a camp! It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that defeat awaited his first onset; but this very defeat served to remould and to recast, (if the expression may be allowed) the character of the Russian monarch: he was rocked in the iron cradle of misfortune so long, that he learned betimes to despise the delicacies of a court; he felt his heart expanding with feelings which would never have been known in the days of indolent prosperity. Misfortune made him a blessing to his native country and a blessing to the age in which we live. All that amiable softness of character, so desirable in a private man, but often so dangerous for a monarch to possess, as is proved by the example of the murdered Louis, is now disciplined and chastened by adversity, from a weakness into a virtue. He does not suffer the exercise of a false humanity to suspend the sentence of justice, and thus render the salutary provisions of the law a dead letter. It often happens that characters are formed more by circumstances than from any thing else. The French emperor when he first entered into the service of the revolutionary army, could never have harboured the thought, that he was one day destined to mount the throne of the Bourbons. But by seizing every opportunity that chance, or fortune afforded, a royal diadem at last twinkled upon his temples.

The duke of Wellington, when he was first appointed to the command of the English army, was sent to the assistance of the Spaniards, could have by no possibility entertained the thought, that he was, one day, to become the deliverer of the Peninsula, or to have arrived afterwards to such unrivalled grandeur of military glory, as to have beheld

the conqueror of Europe prostrate at his feet, and like a suppliant imploring his mercy. The human character as has been before remarked, grows and expands with circumstances. Thus has it been with the emperor Alexander, and in fact, when we speak of men who are said to inherit all their great qualities from the hand of nature, we do violence to common sense; with far more philosophical propriety may it be said, that great occasions call forth great talents, talents commensurate to the crisis that brings them forth, talents which the possessor himself knows nothing of until they are summoned by such imperious calls into action. The early life of Alexander, as before remarked, was trained and disciplined in all the refinements of a court; by nature made benevolent and humane, he wanted none of those endearing attractions which may be classed under the head of personal accomplishments. Still something was wanting, a manly fortitude, a stern and resolute inflexibility of character, large and expanded views of the present, and of the future, and a fortitude to do and to suffer what his better judgment informed him was indispensable to be done or to be suffered. All these qualities were brought forth by the tremendous crisis in which he was called upon as a monarch to act, to dare and to suffer; they were called into action by the flames of Moscow and of Smolensko, by the unparalleled sufferings of his devoted subjects, who poured their blood so profusely and so willingly at the command of their sovereign. The unprosperous character of his first campaigns against Bonaparte, taught him humility in the hour of subsequent victory; taught him piety towards Heaven, and to look to the Supreme Disposer of all human events, rather than on the strength of his own arm for protection, in the hour of danger and of death. Under the discipline of these contending events, we behold the Christian warrior and king gathering

new honours from misfortune, new glories from defeat ; he is taught fortitude in the hour devoted to despair and death, and humility in the hour of victory. While the allied monarchs at Vienna, were calmly discussing the important questions appertaining to the limits of their extensive kingdoms and empires, and as far as human sagacity can foresee and prevent, endeavouring to foresee and to prevent all future appeals to the sword, an event happened which put a stop to all discussion, and rendered indispensable another appeal to the God of battles, this was the return of Bonaparte from Elba. By what invisible machinery this great event was brought about, and who were the agents, has never yet been fairly ascertained ; it does as yet remain a piece of secret history for time to develope. It is, however, well known, that Louis, after his accession to the throne, by a policy little short of criminal, retained in his confidence the former friends and admirers of Bonaparte ; they surrounded his person and filled almost all the important and responsible offices in his kingdom. Undoubtedly this was done from the best of motives ; but the fact is unquestionably as plain, that if the French monarch himself, had endeavoured to prepare the way for the return of Napoleon to the throne of France, he would have pursued precisely the same policy that he did ; the personal friends of Bonaparte ruled his cabinet ; the personal friends of Bonaparte ruled his army ; they were in possession of all the strong fortresses of state, and to speak with the gravity of truth, there was nothing, no, literally there was nothing, to oppose his return. There was in all human probability, a private understanding between the partizans of Napoleon and the idol of their idolatry, previous to his embarkation for Elba. They might have told him, that while his capitol was in the hands of the allies, it would be impossible for him to preserve the royal diadem upon his

brows ; that he must bend to the force of circumstances that he could not controul, and content himself by a temporary abdication of the crown and sceptre—that he must trust to them to smoothe the way for his return to the throne ; that they would endeavour by a show of zeal and fidelity to acquire the confidence of the reigning king, and by that means to facilitate his resumption of the sceptre. Whether any, or all this machinery was set in motion, is more than we can presume to say ; but it quadrates perfectly with the French character for intrigue, it is all part and parcel of the same policy, that has so long held the empires and kingdoms of Europe in slavery and in bondage ; it is a policy of a character peculiarly French, that is a system that means every thing, but what it professes to mean. Louis soon felt the effects of his misguided and misapplied confidence. Bonaparte's own generals were sent to fight their former master to whom they, with their armies, deserted and swore allegiance ; one strong fortress after another opened its gates for the reception of Bonaparte, the garrisons acknowledged him as their rightful sovereign, and at the head of those very armies sent by Louis to oppose his passage, Napoleon entered Paris as a conqueror, attended by the unparalleled circumstance of not shedding one drop of human blood on his way. The French monarch was compelled to fly the abode of his ancestors, and to seek for a second time, an asylum in a foreign land. His most deadly and malignant enemies were those of his own household ; those that held the sway over the cabinet and over the army, those who were more properly spies upon his person and upon all his movements than officers of his kingdom. Complete as this plot was in all its parts members and organs, it can but excite a well founded astonishment, that it should have been put in operation, at the time when it was done. The allied monarchs, the con-

querors of Bonaparte were still at Vienna, their armies had not been disbanded, but were ready at the command of their sovereigns, to enter Paris a second time ; not a member of this victorious confederacy, had been detached from that body, and it amounted to a positive certainty, that they would not separate without attempting the expulsion of Bonaparte from the throne of France ; they were bound by an express treaty, to make this attempt, which treaty was perfectly notorious, for it had been published to the world, and yet Bonaparte had resumed the sceptre before the wax which formed the seal of this treaty was hardly cold. The congress at Vienna did act in pursuance of these ideas ; they denounced Bonaparte as an outlaw from the community of social man, and immediately began to oppose his measures : they recalled their troops which they were then sending home, and every measure which they adopted, showed an inflexible determination to risque every thing, rather than to suffer Bonaparte to remain upon the throne of the Bourbons. The following extract from the proclamation of the emperor Alexander, issued on this occasion, is too remarkable to be passed over in silence :

“ At the moment when we thought of returning to our happy country, and of enjoying the peace, earned by such painful cares, a new war is kindled, pre-ordained by the impenetrable councils of the Almighty in his kind Providence which rules over us, which changes even evil into good, permitted the rebellious spirit, that was concealed in France, to burst forth just at the time, when the sovereigns and people in a state of powerful preparation, were watchful that by their united power, wickedness might be wholly extirpated ; the harvest cleared from the weeds, and the precious fruit of inviolable peace, flourish amongst the powers

who observe the laws of Christian faith and truth. Russia, also elevated by religion, is called upon to take arms, and attentive to this call again enters the career of glory. The perfidious plan of Napoleon Bonaparte, the treachery that has hastened his audacious enterprise, the rapidity of his pernicious progress aiming at the overthrow of society of religion and of law, all these reasons forbid the authorities established by the rulers of empires, to recognise in the midst of general order, a government, that is founded on the breach of faith and of violence. For this reason, all the powers again form an indissoluble union in order to annihilate the tyrannic power which has made itself master of France, and thereby to prevent fresh miseries, not only the engagements of friendship, but also the honour of the empire, call upon us to defend the rightful cause; it cannot be foreign to Russia, which for time immemorial has combatted for religion and fidelity. In obedience to this sacred voice, we go with the help of the Most High, to new deeds. The fruit of such great and glorious victories, will not be lost. Resolved to share every danger and privation with our victorious army, we place our firm confidence in the Lord of hosts, in the protector of the just. It is, indeed, painful to our heart, to prolong our absence from the country, but we firmly trust in Divine favour, which every where protects us, that this absence will be of short duration. The attachment, and duration of all the authorities in the empires, animated by only one feeling, and the valour of our troops will crown the work, which we have before us with the desired success. All the European powers, will act in concert with us. In the days of danger and glory, when the raging enemy, who had penetrated our frontiers, thought in his infatuation to strike a deadly blow against Russia, when Europe, subject to his yoke, rose against us, we invo-

ked the Almighty, and implored him to turn his eye on the church in mourning, to deliver his inheritance, and endow us with strength, to triumph over wickedness and deceit, to protect the independence of nations and their rulers. The most high, heard the voice of our prayers, and his right hand guided Russia in the career of glory; now we will not deviate from it, and his gracious care for us will be completed."

Such were the sentiments that animated the heart of Alexander, and of his allies. And yet, Bonaparte, who had so recently felt the strength of the power, by which he was compelled to abandon his throne, and to seek an asylum in Elba; without, as before remarked, detaching a single member from this confederacy, dared to provoke these conquering armies again, even before they were disbanded. Bonaparte, rash as the measure evidently was, neglected no opportunity to maintain the ground which he had occupied. He appealed in his proclamations to the pride of the Frenchmen, reminded them of their former glory, and then asked them whether they could bear so much degradation as to suffer a monarch to reign over them, imposed by foreign bayonets. Aware that he had formerly disgusted, what has been called the republican party, by his high handed measures; he invited his subjects to meet in the Champ de Mai, to consult on the subject of a new form of government, to be submitted to their consideration, which ended in a new constitution and a new farce. He was by such artifices labouring incessantly to extend his popularity and to replenish the ranks of his army. The allied monarchs were equally on the alert. They were busily engaged in recalling their troops, that they were on the point of disbanding, and were slowly and cautiously advancing towards Paris, taking strong positions as they approached. Part

of Alexander's army had already in their homeward march, retired as far as the banks of the Dnieper, and the Dwina, when they were summoned by the voice of their emperor to return, a voice that they instantly obeyed. It is conceived unnecessary to take particular notice of the battles between the French and the Prussians, and afterwards between the French and the Prussians and English, when the latter forces formed a junction at Waterloo. These events are so well known, that it would merely be an unnecessary consumption of the reader's time to relate them again, and they are only therefore mentioned to preserve a chronological order of events. By the great and decisive battle of Waterloo, Paris became once more in the possession of the allies. Again was Napoleon compelled to surrender his crown and sceptre and even his life, to the disposal of his victorious enemies; again was Louis reinstated on the throne of his ancestors, and again was Bonaparte banished to a desolate island, where he may probably be doomed to spend the remainder of his existence. The emperor of Russia, it must be confessed, had no immediate personal agency in this second revolution; his army was on the march, but did not return to share in the danger and the glory of this memorable campaign. By this unparalleled victory, the capital of France was put once more into the possession of the allied monarchs, and the successful attempt of Bonaparte to escape from Elba, and to seize the crown of France, has only served to draw more closely together the bands of the European confederacy; it has reinstated Louis more firmly upon the throne, and will, at least for some time to come, render all attempts for his expulsion abortive; it has only ended in the degradation of that power, that dared to set all confederated Europe at defiance. When Paris was for the first time in possession of the victorious allies, from motives



of delicacy and humanity towards a conquered people, they suffered the superb decorations of the Louvre, the paintings and the statues, although they were the memorials of their own disgrace and defeat, to remain untouched by their hands. But when they found how this delicacy and forbearance had been requited by a conquered enemy, they did not deem it either politic or just, to exercise the same lenity again. The walls of the Louvre were dismantled, and the paintings and statues were restored to their rightful owners. This has been loudly complained of by the friends of Bonaparte ; but unless it can be proved that it is wrong for a man to recover his own property, it surely was right to dismantle the Louvre. But it has been said, that France acquired a property in these master pieces of human art, because they were taken from a conquered people. To this it may be answered, that if conquest confers a right, they are now taken from a conquered people. If conquest divests an owner of his property, then surely conquest and ownership, likewise may acquire a double right. It has been said again, that the possession of this property was secured to the French by the terms of capitulation ; no such article in any existing treaty can be shown ; but it is an undoubted fact, that neither the possession of Paris by a victorious army, nor the expulsion of Bonaparte, nor the reinstatement of Louis upon the throne, ever excited so much commotion as the dismantling of the Louvre. The allies, before their departure, very plainly intimated to the French, that if the quiet of Europe should be again disturbed by their wild ambition, they would then consider what further means of ensuring the repose of the continent should be adopted ; in other words, that France should be divided amongst the allies.

The following is the valedictory order of the emperor to his army.

“ Treason and the perfidious designs of the enemy of public repose, have brought you, brave warriors, to the same plains in which, last year, after having vanquished him, you opened to yourselves, in following him in his tract, the road to Paris. Thanks to the Almighty, your valour, already sufficiently known to the world, has not been put to new proofs. The general measures adopted by the allied powers, put a stop to the audacity of Napoleon Bonaparte; before your assistance in the field was necessary, he himself has been obliged to surrender a prisoner. You have not less demonstrated by a rapid march from the banks of the Dnieper and the Dwina, to those of the Seine, that notwithstanding the immensity of the distance, you are always ready to combat for justice, whenever the voice of your country and your sovereign may call you. In now sending you back to your country so dear to you, it is pleasing to me, to have to express to my brothers in arms, my gratitude for the zeal and order that I have observed in inspecting your ranks in the plains of Champagne. The remembrance of that review, in which, before the allied sovereigns and their generals, the regiments of the line, and the artillery rivalled each other in the order and precision of their movements, and in the good condition of their arms and equipments, will always be present to my memory. I thank you at the same time for the maintenance of strict discipline, and for the regular conduct which you have constantly observed in foreign countries, and to which the inhabitants do perfect justice. May the benediction of the Eternal accompany you in your march to your homes; his awful and powerful hand in preserving you from the evils accompanying war, indicate to you the path which ought to reconduct you to the bosom of your families. Be grateful to his infinite bounty, by constantly following his laws, and un-

ceasingly recollect that Divine Mercy has been to you particularly favourable, because you have always placed all your hopes in God."

After the review of the Russian army, the emperor ordered a religious solemnity to take place, in which, after returning thanks to God for having put an end to the calamities of Europe, he made a vow to exercise all his soul and the strength of his empire for the preservation of peace. It may now be seen with how much sanctity this monarch has regarded his vow. He is now at the head of what has been called the holy alliance, a treaty by which the great potentates of Europe, solemnly recognize our Lord and Saviour as the only proper subject of human adoration, by which they acknowledge themselves his subjects, and by which they pledge themselves to extend his empire. It is consoling to the Christian to behold the conquerors of Bonaparte prostrating themselves before our Redeemer, and casting their diadems at the foot of the cross. Thus has the atheism of French philosophy, after having deluged Europe in blood, swept the fairest portion of the world with conflagration and with murder, and spread trepidation and alarm from the cottage to the throne, after having converted villages into deserts, and populous cities into tombs, by the interference and guidance of an Almighty hand, at last established the empire of the Saviour of the Universe.

Since writing the above, the volume of Sir Robert Wilson has been received, in which the author endeavours to maintain the principle, that Russia is the power, which at present ought to engross all the apprehensions of the civilized world. The author, in defence of his hypothesis, ostentatiously displays the rapid advances made by Russia, in refinement, in civilization, and the arts; in short, he proves most conclusively the character, in which it

has been attempted in the preceding pages to pour-tray Alexander. Russia under the auspices of her mild and benevolent sovereign, is advancing with rapid strides in commerce, in manufactures, and in the arts; savages are turned into men, cities rising in the depth of the wildernesses; the rivers connected by canals, and in short, all the blessings of a mild, paternal and fostering government are now enjoyed by the Russians: scenes like these, which warm the heart of every philanthropist with admiration, are produced by this author, to prove that a confederacy ought immediately to be formed by the European powers, to prevent the diffusion of so much benevolence.

## ADDITIONAL SKETCH.

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IF we look over that long list of kings and emperors which history presents, we shall find many of them to have been monsters in human shape, the utmost reproach of human nature, and the most dreadful scourges of mankind. Pharaoh, Herod, Dionysius, Nero, Caligula, Heliogabalus, and many others were of this class. A multitude more have trodden in the same paths and arrived more or less near to the same abyss of baseness, profligacy and crime. The reason of this extreme viciousness of character in a large portion of kings and emperors is obvious. That station which is the most elevated and dazzling,—which is frequently sought by wading through rivers of blood and breaking through the utmost barriers of right, is, perhaps, of all others, the least propitious to real happiness and the most fatal to virtue. The loftiest height is often near to the most dangerous precipices. An hereditary monarch is usually, from infancy, surrounded by whatever pampers appetite, inflates pride and cherishes corrupt passion. Wealth and luxury, pleasure, pomp and power, each so dangerous to depraved nature, all stand around the prince and wait upon the monarch to seduce, to corrupt and to instigate. Dissipated companions, cringing courtiers and ambitious ministers, all unite their arts and influence to lead onward and urge downward to the depths of pollution and vice. We have then rather reason to wonder that there have

been so many, than that there have been so few, good kings and emperors. We meet occasionally with some royal or imperial names, which break forth, like bright, but solitary stars in a dark night, from the general darkness and gloom of human folly and guilt. In the present day the North of Europe has exhibited an imperial character, which, there is great reason to believe, will pass down to future ages, as one of the best and the most beneficial in the annals of the world.

Since the publication of the last edition of these memoirs, new accounts respecting the subject of them have been received, in this country. From these accounts it appears that the emperor Alexander has continued the same high and noble career which he had before commenced and pursued. He has given new proofs of his being the active friend and munificent promoter of civil and religious liberty, of knowledge and science, of peace, of morals and religion. Some of these accounts are presented in the following pages in connection with some previous ones which are considered interesting, as well for the facts and sentiments they contain, as for the illustration they afford of the character and conduct of this illustrious monarch.

### LIBERTY.

Before the year 1811, the constitution of Russia was an absolute autocracy, or complete despotism, but, at that period, the emperor Alexander declared, that it should be in future a constitutional monarchy, and that the will of the sovereign should be regulated by a code of laws. The government is composed of, 1. The Senate of the empire, which in 1811 consisted of 35 members. 2. Of the directing Senate as the superior authority. 3. Of the Holy directing Senate, and 4. Of the high Ministers. Such a change as this is highly favourable to

wise and steady government and to the freedom and happiness of the people. It naturally leads the way too, in the progress of time and of things, to other beneficial changes in the form of government and administration of a state. Recently the emperor issued an ukase, decreeing the gradual abolition of the vassalage of the peasants in the extensive province of Esthonia, containing upwards of 200,000 inhabitants. In the new constitution of Poland the liberty of the press and a free toleration in religion are important articles. The emperor has also issued a rescript, in favour of the Duchaborski, a religious sect, which may be called the Quakers of the Greek church. His imperial majesty takes occasion to disclaim persecution of every kind; remarking; "that the doctrine of the Redeemer who came into the world to save sinners, cannot be spread by constraint and punishment. True faith can only take root by the blessing of God, by conviction, instruction, mildness, and above all by *good example*."

## SCIENCE AND KNOWLEDGE.

An imperial library was, some years since, formed by Alexander, at St. Petersburg, containing more than 300,000 volumes in every branch of science, and in all languages, ancient and modern, with many valuable manuscripts.

The university of Moscow has been re-established in great splendour and upon broader foundations as to instruction. Several Russian noblemen have followed the example of the emperor and empress mother in contributing large sums of money to this institution.

But this good emperor's attention and liberality are, by no means, confined to the benefit of the learned, and the promotion of literature and sci-

ence. The diffusion of all useful knowledge, the people in general, and even the lower classes of them, are the objects of his paternal care and imperial munificence. The celebrated count Kotzebue, it is said, has been appointed to edit an immense work, to be circulated in every part of the empire and be publicly read by the clergy which is to embrace the substance of all the works printed in Europe, on statistics, manufactures, public instruction &c. He is to employ as many presses as he may deem necessary. A munificent salary is to be attached to the appointment. Some time since Alexander sent four persons to London to make themselves acquainted with the Lancasterian system of education, with a view to its introduction into Russia. They were received at his request into the central school of the National Education Society. They rapidly acquired a knowledge of the English language and other information, and have now returned, it is presumed, to Russia. Such a system introduced under such auspices, in connection with the printing and distribution of the Bible, will probably prove an incalculable blessing to that vast empire.

## PEACE.

As early as the great battle of Austerlitz, the emperor of Russia appeared in person with his army. In the action at Dresden, the celebrated Moreau fell by his side. During the war he evinced great activity, firmness and bravery. His presence often animated his intrepid warriors and gave new fire to their "breasts of steel." But, like Washington, he is from nature, mild, feeling and humane. Thus he is from native disposition; he is, also, from principle, the friend and promoter of peace. The sacred alliance appears to have been peculiarly the



work of this mighty monarch, whose military power is so vast and so formidable. And one great object of this remarkable treaty is the preservation of *peace*. It is not only a solemn acknowledgment, on the part of the earthly sovereigns who formed it, of the supreme authority of the great Sovereign of heaven and earth, but it also goes to establish a royal Areopagus, a high and sacred court for the protection of religion, justice and peace. It is declared in this alliance that "the sole principle in force, whether between the said governments, or between their subjects, shall be that of doing each other reciprocal service, and of testifying by unalterable good will, the affection with which they ought to be animated and to consider themselves all as members of one and the same Christian nation."

To prevent all umbrage, or suspicion which this extraordinary alliance might excite, Alexander addressed a letter to the various courts, stating that he had no other object in view than the lasting peace and happiness of nations. He urged their adoption of it, and it was finally acceded to, by a large number of the powers of Europe. Agreeably to the principles there announced, the emperor of Russia appears to have acted. When some of the governments interested made pecuniary demands against France to a vast amount, he declared for a reduction of the claims of Russia, as well as of the aggregate. In short we have lately seen the whole demands against France peaceably arranged, and an agreement to withdraw the combined armies from that country, by the congress of sovereigns and ministers, at Aix-la-Chapelle. The principles of the sacred alliance are, also, in some degree, announced anew, in the declaration of the allied monarchs, as the following extract will evince.

"The intimate union established among the monarchs who are joint parties to this system, by

the interests of their people, offers to Europe the most sacred pledge of its future tranquillity. The object of this union is as simple as it is great and salutary. It does not tend to any new political combination—to any change in the relations sanctioned by existing treaties. Calm and consistent in its proceedings, it has no other object than the maintenance of peace, and the security of those transactions on which the peace was founded and consolidated. The Sovereigns, in forming this august union, have regarded as its fundamental basis, their invariable resolution never to depart, either among themselves or in their relations with other States, from the strictest observation of the principles of the rights of nations; permanent peace, can alone effectually guarantee the independence of each government and the stability of the general association. Faithful to these principles, the Sovereigns will maintain them equally in those meetings at which they may be personally present, or in those which shall take place among their ministers; whether it shall be their object to discuss in common their own interests, or whether they shall take cognizance of questions in which other governments shall formally claim their interference.

“The same spirit which will direct their councils, and reign in their diplomatic communications, shall preside also at these meetings; and the repose of the world shall be constantly their motive and their end. It is with such sentiments that the Sovereigns have consummated the work to which they were called. They will not cease to labour for its confirmation and perfection. They solemnly acknowledge, that their duties towards God and the people whom they govern, make it peremptory on them to give to the world, as far as in their power, an example of justice, of concord, of moderation; happy in the power of consecrating, from henceforth, all their

efforts to the protection of the arts of peace, to the increase of the internal prosperity of their states, and to the awakening of those sentiments of religion and morality, whose empire has been but too much enfeebled by the misfortunes of the times.

*“Aix-la-Chapelle, Nov. 15, 1818.”*

We have farther evidence that Alexander is the friend and promoter of peace, on true and Christian principles, in the answers which he and his minister, prince Gallitzin, gave to the Peace Society of Massachusetts.

*“To the Rev. Noah Worcester, Secretary of the Massachusetts Peace Society.”*

“Sir—Your letter in behalf of the Massachusetts Peace Society, with the books accompanying it, were received. The object which this philanthropic institution has in view, the dissemination of the principles of peace and amity among men, meets my cordial approbation. My endeavours to procure peace and good will among nations are already known; and the power and influence which Almighty God has committed to me, shall ever be employed, I trust, in striving to secure to the nations the blessings of that peace which they now enjoy.

“Considering the object of your society, the promotion of peace among mankind, as one eminently congenial to the spirit of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, I have judged it proper to express these my sentiments respecting your labours, in answer to your communication to me on this subject.

“ALEXANDER.

*“St. Petersburg, July 4, 1817.”*

“Sir—I received your letter of the 9th of April, with the numbers of the ‘Friend of Peace’ accom-

panying it, for which I return you my hearty thanks. The object which your society has in view is of great importance to the well-being and happiness of the human race. Indeed it seems to me to be almost the same as that of Bible Societies; for it is only in proportion as the divine and peaceable principles of the Gospel of Jesus Christ prevail in the hearts of men, that lasting and universal peace can be expected. A blessed period is promised in the word of God, when men shall learn the art of war no more. This period I understand to be the same as that in which it is prophesied that all men shall know the Lord, even from the least unto the greatest, and that the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord. These latter promises seem to be daily fulfilling in every quarter of the world, by the exertion of Bible and other Christian Societies to disseminate among men the saving and pacific principles of Jesus Christ. They are preparing the way for your Society's gaining its object—peace—universal peace, when men shall learn the art of war no more. Most earnestly praying for every blessing to accompany your labour, in promoting peace on earth and good-will among men, I shall reckon it a peculiar honour to be among the members of such a humane society.

“I remain, Sir, your

“most obedient servant,

“PRINCE ALEX. GALLITZIN.”

## MORALS AND RELIGION.

During the awful conflict in Russia and the subsequent wars, the emperor Alexander issued a number of proclamations and addresses to his armies and his people. These papers were very remarkable for the solemn acknowledgments of the Divine Providence, the profound supplications for the Divine

Aid, and the Christian sentiments which they contained. The sacred alliance which was signed at Paris the 26th of September, 1815, was also much noticed for the great truths it recognized, and the evangelical spirit which it breathed.

Previous, however, to this period, the Bible Society had been instituted in Russia; and the emperor has ever been its decided friend, its munificent patron and active promoter. At its first institution, he bestowed upon it a liberal donation. He afterwards gave to it a spacious and valuable edifice in Petersburg, and conferred the privilege of sending, not only letters, but bibles, by post, free of expense. On his return to Petersburg, in December, 1815, he immediately spoke to prince Gallitzin, the President of the Bible Society, about that institution, expressed great joy at its prosperity, begged the prince to promote its interests to the utmost of his power, and promised every assistance on his part. He even added, that he spoke from personal knowledge of the value and utility of the Holy Scriptures. When a Bible Society was to be formed among the Cossacks, an imperial letter was addressed to general Platoff, their Hetman, on the subject. A society was about to be organized at Warsaw, but difficulties occurred. The emperor, then at Petersburg, gave every assurance of support. He soon after appeared at Warsaw, put himself at the head of the society, and every difficulty vanished. One very important operation for extending and increasing the knowledge of the scriptures, was undertaken at the suggestion of the emperor himself. He recommended to the Holy Synod to procure a translation of the bible into the modern Russian. "His majesty," says our account, "had observed that while the society was supplying all the nations in Russia with the Bible, the Russians were obliged to read the divine oracles in a language they under-

stood imperfectly, or in a foreign tongue; for the translation of the Slavonian, having been made in the ninth century, the language of it differs more from the modern Russian, than Wickeliff's translation from the modern English version. The recommendation of the emperor was unanimously adopted." "The idea of this noble work," adds the writer, "is the exclusive property of his majesty, the pure suggestion of his own benevolence; and the Russian Bible will remain an imperishable memorial both of his piety and of his paternal solicitude for the welfare of his subjects." In an address to the Moscow Bible Society, the emperor said, "I consider the establishment of Bible Societies in Russia, in most parts of Europe, and in other quarters of the globe, and the very great progress these institutions have made in disseminating the word of God, not merely among Christians, but also among heathens and Mahometans, as a peculiar display of the mercy and grace of God to the human race. On this account I have taken upon myself the denomination of a member of the Russian Bible Society, and will render it every possible assistance, in order that the beneficent light of revelation may be shed among all nations subject to my sceptre."

To the munificence, the influence, the example and the zeal of the emperor, the remarkable success of the Russian Bible Society is, under God, to be in a great degree attributed. Within four years after its establishment, that society had published, or were engaged in publishing, *forty-three* editions of the Sacred Scriptures, in *seventeen* different languages, forming a grand total of *one hundred and ninety-six thousand* copies.

The issue of Bibles in the fourth year fell little short of what had taken place in the three preceding years, while the increase of the funds had been in nearly equal proportion. A gentleman in England,

writing to his friend in Philadelphia, under date of November 4, 1817, says, "The emperor of Russia has lately given a kind mark of a purified taste, in withdrawing from a company of French comedians an annual grant of 190,000 roubles, and transferring it to a philanthropic institution. Surely this may be viewed as substantial evidence of improvement."

The Christian Observer for May, 1817, contains the following article. "On Easter Sunday there was published at St. Petersburg, a very remarkable imperial mandate in favour of such Jews as are, or may be converted to the Christian faith. In the northern and southern governments, lands are to be assigned them gratis, where such as please, may settle under the name of the Society of Jewish Christians. A board also is to be formed at St. Petersburg, to be entitled "The Board for the affairs of Jewish Christians;" on which, and no other magistrates, except in criminal cases, the Jews are to depend. They are to be allowed to carry on trade and commerce, establish manufactories, &c. They are to be free from military service and the billeting of troops."

The narratives of the Dairyman's Daughter, the Negro Servant, and Young Cottager, having been translated into the Russian and Finnish languages, and extensively circulated in the Russian empire, the Rev. Legh Richmond, of England, by the advice of the Rev. Mr. Paterson, transmitted to the emperor the Annals of the Poor, accompanied by a letter, in which Mr. Richmond made allusion to an interview he had with his majesty, at Portsmouth, in June, 1814. Prince Gallitzin, at the command of the emperor, wrote a letter to Mr. R. accompanied by a present of a topaz ring set round with diamonds, and valued at 2000 roubles. The letter follows.

*“To the Rev. Legh Richmond, Rector of Turvey,  
Bedfordshire.”*

“Reverend Sir,

“The copy of your book, ‘Annals of the Poor,’ was, according to your desire, presented to his imperial majesty the emperor Alexander by me, together with your letter, and accepted by his majesty with the greatest satisfaction. The object of this volume, the promotion of Christian charity, and truly religious sentiments, render it most interesting and valuable in the eyes of the emperor, who desires nothing so much as to see the principles of the gospel of Jesus Christ our Saviour, more and more universal in his dominions, and in the whole world.

“On this occasion, his imperial majesty recollected, also, having made your acquaintance, in Portsmouth, under the circumstances you describe in your letter.

“In consequence of all this, his majesty ordered me to deposit your book in the library of the Imperial Humane Society; and to send you the ring, which accompanies this letter as a mark of his true esteem for you, and high approbation of your work. It is very agreeable to me, in thus fulfilling the order of my Sovereign to assure you of the sincere esteem with which I have the honour to be your obedient servant,

“PRINCE ALEXANDER GALLITZIN.

*“St. Petersburg, Jan. 14, 1817.”*

Katagerry, a young Tartar Sultan, having been converted by the instrumentality of Mr. Brunton, a distinguished missionary, came over to England, with the view of acquiring such knowledge as would fit him for more extensively promoting the cause of Christianity among his countrymen. He was taken under the patronage of the emperor of



Russia, and prosecuted his studies assiduously in London.

We have also a late and very interesting account of an interview between the emperor and two missionaries from England.

*“Extract of a letter from two Missionaries sent by the London Missionary Society to the interior of Russia addressed to a member of that Society, and communicated by him to a member of the Board of Missions of the Presbyterian Church, who resides in Philadelphia.*

*“Moscon, 5th January, 1818.*

“We have this evening had the expected honour of an interview with his Imperial Majesty. He received us without the forms and ceremonies which are usual at Courts. He expressed his pleasure at making an acquaintance, and inquired particularly respecting our objects. We told him it was to translate the Holy Scriptures into the *Mongel*, and if possible into the *Manjur* languages. He spoke of the difficulty of our undertaking—the privations we must endure—his wish to make our arduous undertaking as easy as possible. He expressed his pleasure that God had raised up instruments for such a work—his opinion that nothing but a pious hope in the promise of God, and grace and strength from him, could enable us to execute our intentions. With eyes sparkling with joy, and an animation which nothing but a feeling sense of the subject could excite, he spoke of the promises made in the word of God respecting the circulation of Divine Truth, and of the pleasure which he felt, and what every believer in them must feel, at this singular period, in seeing so many of them fulfilled. He expressed his firm conviction that they will all be fulfilled, because made by a faithful and powerful God. He regretted that he was able to speak so

little on these great subjects in the English language. He assured us of the pleasure which he should feel in affording us every assistance and encouragement in his power, both on our journey and also for the promotion of our object when arrived at Irkutsk. He told us he had given *most positive orders*, and should still give them, that every facility should be afforded us. And above all, he assured us that his prayers should ascend to God on our behalf—that the important work which we had undertaken might be accomplished.—Mr. R. and myself spoke much to him on the subject. His familiarity was such that I could almost think I was talking to an intimate Christian friend. His majesty took particular notice of a circumstance which lately occurred—that two Boriats have arrived at St. Petersburg from Irkutsk. Their intention is to learn the *Russe* language, and to get acquainted with the Bible. They have already transcribed the Gospel of Matthew from the Kalmuck into the Mongolean dialect, and if more of the Kalmuck should be translated, they will transcribe it also, and as soon as types can be made, the gospel of Matthew will be printed. This is a favourable circumstance for us. His Imperial Majesty observed that what was very singular in it was that the Boriats were thinking of sending into Europe, at the same time that you (in England) were thinking of sending to them. Having given us his best wishes, he bade us farewell.”

Some of the readers of these memoirs have probably perused the following narrative. Such will, perhaps now peruse it again with renewed interest.

*From the Religious Remembrancer.*

“Mr. Scott,

Believing that the following communication will be interesting not only to yourself, but to all who

admire the character of the Emperor of Russia, I beg leave to request a place for it in your interesting "Remembrancer." It was communicated by the Rev. Mr. Paterson, to a Preacher belonging to the Society of Friends in London, and by him related to the person from whose letter I now copy the intelligence. A. M. M.

"For many years a great friendship subsisted between the emperor of Russia and Prince Gallitzin. It is said they had been unbelievers. It is however beyond a doubt, that they were both opposed to the influence of vital religion, as may be observed from the following relation.

"The office of "Minister of Religion" being vacant, the emperor was desirous of disposing of it to an individual whom he esteemed; but understanding that he was from principle attached to the Bible, he altered his intention, and, with some difficulty prevailed upon the prince to accept the situation. The prince very early felt himself in an awkward predicament, not knowing how to discharge, with propriety, the duties which now devolved on him. He therefore applied to the Bishop of the diocess, and asked his advice how he should proceed in his arduous undertaking. The Bishop referred him to a certain book, where he said he would find every necessary instruction, and which he entreated him to study, observing "if he faithfully did so, he would find no difficulty in rightly proceeding in his new situation." This book was the Bible. To this he made some opposition, but in a short time he secretly obtained a Bible; read it with much attention; and the more he read, the more his understanding became enlightened and his mind satisfied. This was a short period previous to the entrance of the French army into Russia. When the account of that event reached Petersburg, the Russian court were in great alarm. Every one appeared to

carry terror in his countenance. Prince Gallitzin alone seemed calm and composed. This circumstance caused universal surprise. Knowing the sincere attachment which subsisted between the emperor and himself, the former had noticed it, and could hardly suppose that any person could be thus tranquil under circumstances which seemed to threaten ruin to the Russian nation. Neither would he believe his friend was a traitor, or insensible to the present difficulties. The emperor one day called on the Prince, and asked him 'how it was that he was so composed while everyone else was in dismay? To which he replied, that he had of late read the Scriptures, and that they had fortified his mind against every danger, and given him a firm trust in divine help and protection. The Bible lying on the table, he urged the emperor's perusal of it, believing if he did, it would have the same calming influence on his mind. At these remarks the emperor appeared displeased, and with some violence, pushed the Bible from him; it fell open on the floor. The prince took it up, and entreated the emperor to let him read the part which was then open. At length he consented. It was the 91st Psalm. The emperor was much struck with its appropriate and consoling language. "When the Russian army was about to depart from Petersburg to meet Bonaparte, the emperor and officers went to church, as is the usual custom, previous to an army's going on an expedition. The emperor was greatly astonished when that part of the service of the Greek Church was read (which was a portion of the Scriptures) which contained the 91st Psalm. He apprehended that prince Gallitzin (who was with him) had desired this, and, on questioning him, he declared that he "had not seen the person who had read the service, nor had he directly or indirectly any communication with him, since the conversation they had together about the Scriptures."

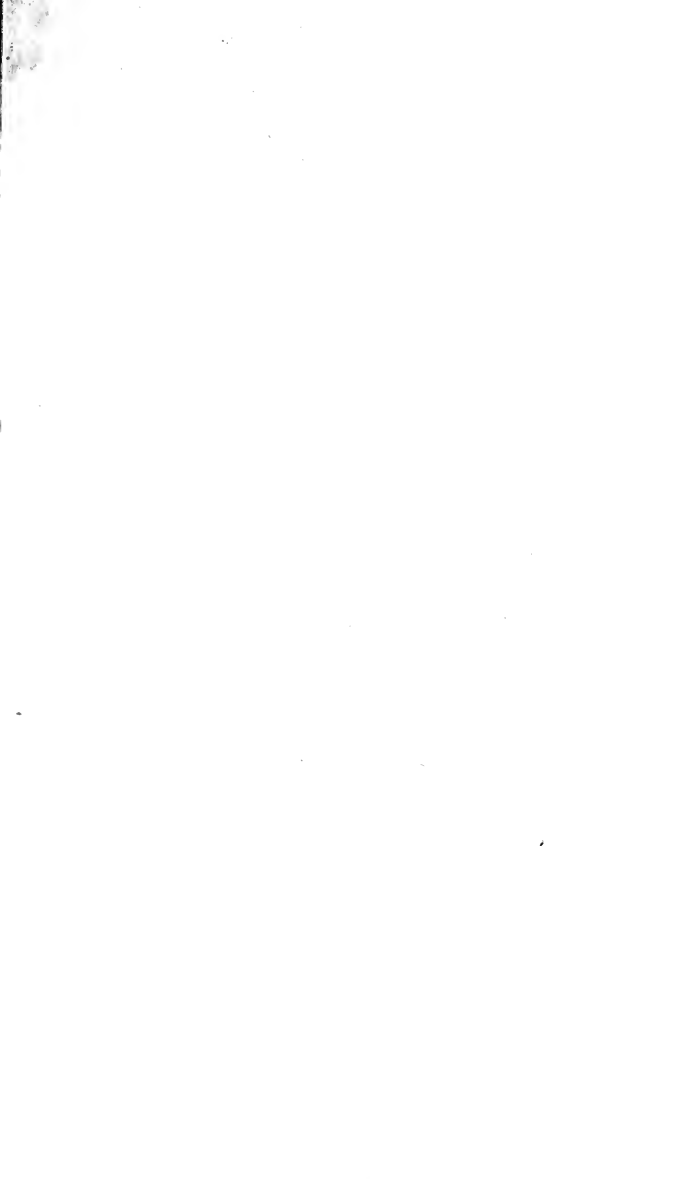
"The emperor now became, in some measure, sensible of the value of the scriptures, and while in the camp with his army, he sent for a chaplain of one of the regiments to read to him. His surprise may be readily imagined when the Chaplain commenced reading the *same psalm*. He immediately asked him "who told him to read that particular psalm?" to which he replied "God;" for on being informed on what account the emperor had sent for him, he had most earnestly implored divine direction in selecting such a portion as would benefit the emperor; and that it was from a divine impulse he had selected that part. The emperor now became more and more delighted with the Bible, and his subsequent conduct proves the influence its sacred truths had on his mind."

If now, at the close of these memoirs, with the lights we possess, we compare Alexander of Russia with other sovereigns distinguished in history, his character and conduct, will appear brighter by the contrast. Alexander of Macedon, discovered exalted talents and some noble qualities. Amidst his rapid conquests, his genius broke forth like the lightning's flashes. But he delighted to run from battle to battle, in a drunken revel, he murdered an old friend and killed himself at last by intoxication. Alexander of Russia is temperate in his habits, by his personal exertion and perseverance he resuscitated the drowned body of an obscure individual, and he has solemnly pledged himself to be the promoter of peace.

Peter the first and Catharine the second are the most distinguished of those who have filled the throne of the Czars. Peter was, on many accounts, deservedly called Great. But he was rude in his manners, fierce in his passions and prone to intemperance. He has been charged too, with neglecting the education of his son and afterwards putting

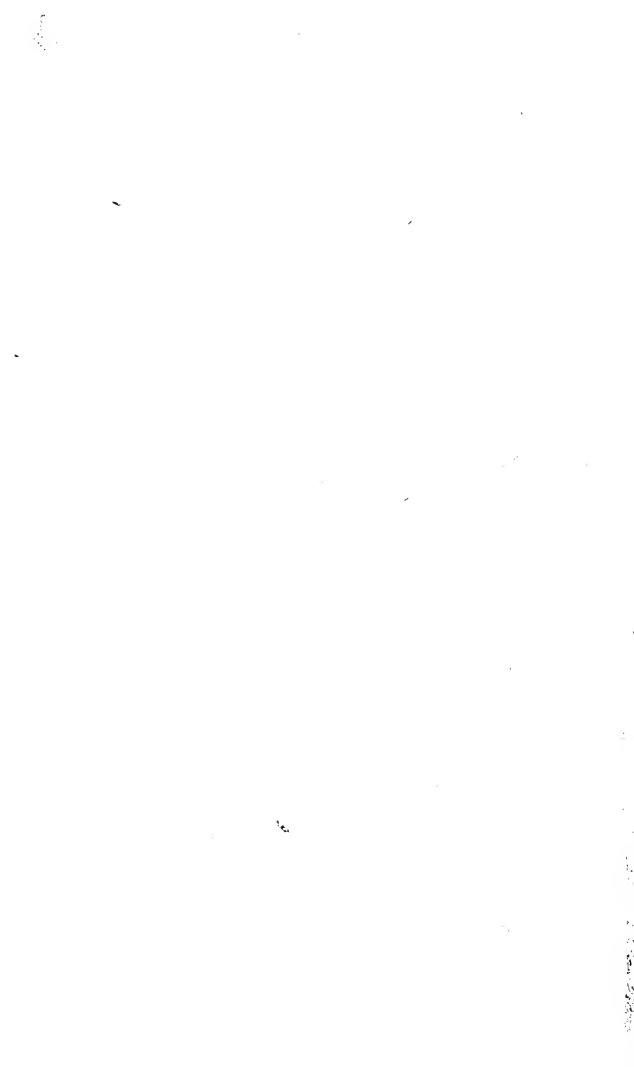
him to death. Alexander, his descendant, is gentle in his manners, mild in his disposition and generously promotes education among his people. Catharine II. was a woman of a high and cultivated mind, and during her long reign, did much to render her empire great and prosperous. But she was at least accessory to the murder of her husband ; at one period, she was the friend of the leaders of the great school of infidelity ; and she was profligate in her manners. She raised magnificent palaces, but too much neglected the cottage.

Her court was brilliant, but she did not sufficiently promote sound civilization. Her illustrious grand-son displayed genuine grief at that tragic event which placed the imperial crown on his brow. He is the munificent patron of knowledge, morals and religion ; the only sure foundation of the lasting prosperity of an empire and the real happiness of a people.









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